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PLUTARCH's

LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK:

WITH

34-723

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.....VOLUME III.

BY JOHN & WILLIAM LANGHORNE.

FIRST WORCESTER EDITION.

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PLUTARCH's LIVES.

PYRRHUS.

SOME historians write, that Phæton was the first king after the deluge who reigned over the Thesprotians and Molossians, and that he was one of those who came with Pelasgus into Epirus. Others say, that Deucalion and Pyrrha, after they had built the temple of Dodona,* settled among the Molossians. In after times Neoptolemus,† the son of Achilles, taking his people with him, possessed himself of the country, and left a succession of kings after him, called *Pyrrhidæ*; for in his infancy he was called Pyrrhus; and he gave that name to one of his legitimate sons whom he had by Lanassa the daughter of Cleodes son of Hyllus. From that time Achilles had divine honors in Epirus, being styled there Aspetos (*i. e.* the Inimitable.) After these first kings, those that followed became entirely barbarous, and both their power and their actions sunk into the utmost obscurity. Tharrytas is the first whom history mentions as remarkable for polishing and improving his cities with Grecian customs,‡ with letters and good laws. Alcetas was the son of Tharrytas, Arybas of Alcetas; and of Arybas and Troias his queen was born Æacides. He married Phthia, the daugher of Menon the Thessalian, who acquired great reputation in the Lamian

* Probably it was only a druidical kind of temple.

† Between Deucalion's flood and the times of Neoptolemus, there was a space of about three hundred and forty years.

‡ Justin does not ascribe the civilizing of the Molossians to Tharrytas, but to Arybas the son of Alcetas I. who had himself been polished and humanized by his education at Athens.

war, and, next to Leoſthenes, was the moſt conſiderable of the confederates. By Phthia Æacides had two daughters named Deidamia and Troias, and a ſon named Pyrrhus.

But the Moloſſians, riſing againſt Æacides, depoſed him, and brought in the ſons of Neoptolemus.* On this occaſion the friends of Æacides were taken and ſlain; only Androclides and Angelus eſcaped with his infant ſon, though he was much ſought after by his enemies; and carried him off with his nurſes and a few neceſſary attendants. This train rendered their flight difficult and ſlow, ſo that they were ſoon overtaken. In this extremity they put the child in the hands of Androcleon, Hippias and Neander, three active young men whom they could depend upon, and ordered them to make the beſt of their way to Megaræ, a town in Macedonia; while they themſelves, partly by entreaty, and partly by force, ſtopt the courſe of the purſuers till evening; when, having with much difficulty got clear of them, they haſtened to join thoſe who carried the young prince. At ſun ſet they thought themſelves near the ſummit of their hopes, but they met with a ſudden diſappointment. When they came to the river that runs by the town, it looked rough and dreadful; and upon trial, they found it abſolutely unfordable. For the current being ſwelled with the late rains, was very high and boiſterous, and darkneſs added to horror. They now deſpaired of getting the child and his nurſes over, without ſome other aſſiſtance; when perceiving ſome of the inhabitants of the place on the other ſide, they begged of them to aſſiſt their paſſage, and held up Pyrrhus towards them. But though they called out loud and entreated earneſtly, the ſtream ran ſo rapid and made ſuch a roaring, that they could not be heard. Some time was ſpent, while they were crying out on one ſide, and liſtening to no purpoſe on the other. At laſt one of Pyrrhus's company thought of peeling off a piece of oak bark, and of expreſſing upon it, with the tongue of a buckle, the neceſſities and fortunes of the child. Accordingly he put this in execution, and having rolled the piece of bark about a ſtone, which was made uſe of to give force to the motion, he threw it to the other ſide. Some ſay, he bound it faſt to a javelin, and darted it over. When the people on the other ſide had read it, and ſaw there was

* This Neoptolemus was the brother of Arybas.

not a moment to loſe, they cut down trees, and made a raft of them, and croſſed the river upon it. It happened that the firſt man who reached the bank, was named Achilles. He took Pyrrhus in his arms, and conveyed him over, while his companions performed the ſame ſervice for his followers.

Pyrrhus and his train, having thus got ſafe over, and eſcaped the purſuers, continued their route, till they arrived at the court of Glaucias king of Illyria. They found the king ſitting in his palace with the queen his conſort,* and laid the child at his feet in the poſture of a ſuppliant. The king, who ſtood in fear of Caſſander, the enemy of Æacides, remained a long time ſilent, conſidering what part he ſhould act. While Pyrrhus, of his own accord creeping cloſer to him, took hold of his robe, and raiſing himſelf up to his knees, by this action firſt excited a ſmile, and afterwards compaſſion; for he thought he ſaw a petitioner before him begging his protection with tears. Some, ſay, it was not Glaucias, but the altar of the domeſtic gods which he approached, and that he raiſed himſelf by embracing it; from which it appeared to Glaucias that heaven intereſted itſelf in the infant's favor. For this reaſon he put him immediately in the hands of the queen, and ordered her to bring him up with his own children. His enemies demanding him ſoon after, and Caſſander offering two hundred talents to have him delivered up, Glaucias refuſed to do it; and when he came to be twelve years old, conducted him into Epirus at the head of an army, and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had an air of majeſty rather terrible than auguſt. Inſtead of teeth in his upper jaw he had one continued bone, marked with ſmall lines reſembling the diviſions of a row of teeth. It was believed, that he cured the ſwelling of the ſpleen, by ſacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently preſſing the part affected, the patients lying upon their backs for that purpoſe. There was no perſon, however poor or mean, refuſed this relief, if requeſted. He received no reward, except the cock for ſacrifice, and this preſent was very agreeable to him. It,

* Juſtin calls this princeſs Beroa, and ſays ſhe was of the family of the Æacidæ; which muſt have been the reaſon of their ſeeking refuge for Pyrrhus in that court.

is also said, that the great toe of that foot had a divine virtue in it; for, after his death, when the rest of his body was consumed, that toe was found entire and untouched by the flames. But this account belongs not to the period we are upon.

When he was about seventeen years of age, and seemed to be quite established in his kingdom, he happened to be called out of his own territories, to attend the nuptials of one of Galucias's sons, with whom he had been educated. On this occasion the Molossians revolting again, drove out his friends, pillaged his treasures, and put themselves once more under Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus lost the crown, and being in want of every thing, applied himself to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who had married his sister Deidamia. That princess, when very young, had been promised to Alexander the son of Roxana (by Alexander the Great;) but that family being unfortunately cut off, she was given, when she came to be marriageable, to Demetrius. In the great battle of Ipsus, where all the kings of the earth were engaged,* Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius; and, though but young, bore down all before him, and highly distinguished himself among the combatants. Nor did he forsake Demetrius, when unsuccessful, but kept for him those cities of Greece with which he was intrusted; and when the treaty was concluded with Ptolemy, he went to Egypt as an hostage. There, both in hunting and other exercises, he gave Ptolemy proofs of his strength and indefatigable abilities. Observing, that among Ptolemy's wives, Berenice was she who had the greatest power, and was most eminent for virtue and understanding, he attached himself most to her. For he had a particular art of making his court to the great, while he overlooked those that were below him. And as in his whole conduct he paid great attention to decency, temperance and prudence, Antigone, who was daughter to Berenice by her first husband Philip, was given him, in preference to many other young princes.

On this account he was held in greater honor than ever: and Antigone proving an excellent wife, procured him men

* He says all the kings of the earth were engaged, because Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, Antigonus, and Demetrius were there in person. This battle was fought about 300 years before Christ.

and money, which enabled him to recover his kingdom of Epirus. At his arrival there, his ſubjects received him with open arms; for Neoptolemus was become obnoxious to the people, by reaſon of his arbitrary and tyrannical government. Nevertheleſs, Pyrrhus, apprehending that Neoptolemus might have recourſe to ſome of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and aſſociated him in the kingdom. But in proceſs of time there were ſome who privately ſowed diſſention and jealouſies between them. Pyrrhus's chief quarrel with Neoptolemus is ſaid to have taken its riſe as follows: It had been a cuſtom for the kings of Epirus to hold an aſſembly at Paſſaron, a place in the province of the Moloſſians; where, after ſacrificing to Jupiter *the warrior*, mutual oaths were taken by them and their ſubjects. The kings were ſworn *to govern according to law*, and the people *to defend the crown according to law*. Both the kings met on this occaſion, attended by their friends, and after the ceremony, great preſents were made on all ſides. Gelon, who was very cordially attached to Neoptolemus, among the reſt, paid his reſpects to Pyrrhus, and made him a preſent of two yoke of oxen.* Myrtilus, one of this prince's cupbearers, begged them of him; but Pyrrhus refuſed him, and gave them to another. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus took the diſappointment extremely ill, invited him to ſup with him. After ſupper he ſolicited him to embrace the intereſt of Neoptolemus, and to poiſon Pyrrhus. Myrtilus ſeemed to liſten to his ſuggeſtions with ſatisfaction, but diſcovered the whole to his maſter. Then, by his order, he introduced to Gelon the chief cupbearer Alexicrates, as a perſon who was willing to enter into the conſpiracy; for Pyrrhus was deſirous to have more than one witneſs to ſo black an enterpriſe. Gelon being thus deceived, Neoptolemus was deceived with him; and, thinking the affair in great forwardneſs, could not contain himſelf, but in the exceſs of his joy mentioned it to his friends. One evening, in particular, being at ſupper with his ſiſter Cadmia, he diſcovered the whole deſign, thinking nobody elſe within hearing. And indeed there was none in the room but Phænarete, the wife of Samon chief keeper of Neoptolemus's cattle; and ſhe laid upon a couch with her face turned towards the wall, and ſeemed to be aſleep. She

* This preſent was characteriſtical of the ſimplicity of ancient times.

heard, however, the whole without being ſuſpected, and went the next day to Antigone the wife of Pyrrhus, and related to her all that ſhe had heard Neoptolemus ſay to his ſiſter. This was immedately laid before Pyrrhus, who took no notice of it for the preſent. But, on occaſion of a ſolemn ſacrifice, he invited Neoptolemus to ſupper, and took that opportunity to kill him. For he was well aſſured that all the leading men in Epirus were ſtrongly attached to him, and wanted him to remove Neoptolemus out of the way; that, no longer ſatisfied with a ſmall ſhare of the kingdom, he might poſſeſs himſelf of the whole; and by following his genius, riſe to great attempts. And, as they had now a ſtrong ſuſpicion beſides, that Neoptolemus was practiſing againſt him, they thought this was the time to prevent him by giving him the fatal blow.

In acknowledgment of the obligations he had to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his ſon by Antigone *Ptolemy*, and called the city which he built in the Cherſoneſe of Epirus, Berenicis. From this time he began to conceive many great deſigns, but his firſt hopes laid hold of all that was near home; and he found a plauſible pretence to concern himſelf in the affairs of Macedonia. Antipater the eldeſt ſon of Caſſander, had killed his mother Theſſalonica, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander ſent to Demetrius for ſuccor, and implored likewiſe the aſſiſtance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius, having many affairs upon his hands, could not preſently comply; but Pyrrhus came and demanded, as the reward of his ſervices, the city of Nymphæa,* and all the maritime coaſt of Macedonia, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, which were ſome of the countries that did not originally belong to the kingdom of Macedon. The young prince agreeing to the conditions Pyrrhus poſſeſſed himſelf of theſe countries, and ſecured them with his garriſons; after which, he went on conquering the reſt for Alexander, and driving Antipater before him.

King Lyſimachus was well inclined to give Antipater aſſiſtance, but he was ſo much engaged with his own affairs

* Dacier thinks Apollonia might be called Nymphæa from Nymphæum, a celebrated rock in its neighborhood. Palmerius would read Tymphæa; that being the name of a town in thoſe parts. There was a city called Nymphæum in the Taurica Cherſoneſus, but that could not be meant here.

that he could not find time for it. Recollecting, however, that Pyrrhus would refuse nothing to his friend Ptolemy, he forged letters in Ptolemy's name, enjoining him to evacuate Macedonia, and to be satisfied with three hundred talents from Antipater. But Pyrrhus no sooner opened the letters, than he perceived the forgery. For, instead of the customary salutation, *The father to his son, greeting*, they began with, *King Ptolemy to king Pyrrhus, greeting*. He inweighed against Lysimachus for the fraud, but listened, notwithstanding, to proposals of peace; and the three princes met to offer sacrifices on the occasion, and to swear upon the altar to the articles. A boar, a bull, and a ram being led up as victims, the ram dropt down dead of himself. The rest of the company laughed at the accident; but Theodotus the diviner advised Pyrrhus not to swear, declaring that the deity presignified the death of one of the kings;* upon which he refused to ratify the peace.

Alexander's affairs were thus advantageously settled; nevertheless Demetrius came. But it soon appeared that he came now unrequested, and that his presence excited rather fear than gratitude. When they had been a few days together, in mutual distrust they laid snares for each other; but Demetrius finding the first opportunity, was beforehand with Alexander, killed him, and got himself proclaimed king of Macedon.

He had for a long time had subjects of complaint against Pyrrhus, on account of the inroads which he had made into Thessaly. Besides, that ambition to extend their dominions, which is a distemper natural to kings, rendered their neighborhood mutually alarming. These jealousies increased after the death of Deidamia. At last each having possessed himself of part of Macedonia, and having one object in view, the gaining of the whole, this produced of course new causes of contention. Demetrius marched against the Ætolians, and reduced them. After which he left Pantauchus among them with a considerable force, and went himself to seek Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, as soon as he was apprised of his design, went to meet him; but taking a wrong route, they inadvertently passed each other. Demetrius entered Epirus, and committed great ravages; and

* Alexander was murdered soon after.

Pyrrhus, falling in with Pantauchus, gave him battle. The diſpute was warm and obſtinate on both ſides, eſpecially where the generals fought. For Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage, and ſtrength, ſtood foremoſt among the officers of Demetrius, and withal was a man of high and ambitious ſpirit, challenged Pyrrhus to the combat. And Pyrrhus, who was behind none of the princes of his time in valor and renown, and who was deſirous to appropriate to himſelf the honors of Achilles, rather by his ſword than by kindred, advanced through the firſt lines againſt Pantauchus. They began with the javelin; and then coming to the ſword, exhauſted all that art or ſtrength could ſupply. Pyrrhus received one wound, and gave his adverſary two, one in the thigh, and the other in the neck; by which he overpowered him, and brought him to the ground; but could not kill him outright, becauſe he was reſcued by his friends. The Epirots, elated with their prince's victory, and admiring his valor, broke into and diſperſed the Macedonian phalanx, and purſuing the fugitives, killed great numbers of them, and took five thouſand priſoners.

This battle did not ſo much excite the reſentment and hatred of the Macedonians againſt Pyrrhus for what they ſuffered, as it inſpired them with an eſteem of his abilities and admiration of his valor. This furniſhed ſubject of diſcourſe to all who were witneſſes of his exploits, or were engaged againſt him in the action. For he recalled to their minds the countenance, the ſwiftneſs, and motion of Alexander the Great; in Pyrrhus they thought they ſaw the very image of his force and impetuoſity. And while the other kings repreſented that hero only in their purple robes, in the number of guards, the bend of the neck, and the lofty manner of ſpeaking, the king of Epirus repreſented him in deeds of arms and perſonal achievements. And of his great ſkill in ordering and drawing up an army, we have proofs in the writings he left behind him. It is alſo ſaid, that Antigonus, being aſked, "Who was the greateſt "general," anſwered, "Pyrrhus would be, if he lived to "be old." Antigonus, indeed, ſpoke only of the generals of his time; but Hannibal ſaid that of all the world had ever beheld, the firſt in genius and ſkill was Pyrrhus, Scipio the ſecond, and himſelf the third; as we have written in

the life of Scipio.* This was the only ſcience he applied himſelf to; this was the ſubject of his thoughts and converſation; for he conſidered it as a royal ſtudy, and looked upon other arts as mere trifling amuſements. And it is reported, that when he was aſked, "Whether he thought "Python or Cæphiſias the beſt muſician?" "Polyſperchon," ſaid he, "is the general;" intimating that this was the only point which it became a king to inquire into or know.

In the intercourſe of life he was mild and not eaſily provoked, but ardent and quick to repay a kindneſs. For this reaſon he was greatly afflicted at the death of Æropus. "His friend," he ſaid, "had only paid the tribute to na"ture, but he blamed and reproached himſelf for putting "off his acknowledgments, till, by theſe delays, he had "loſt the opportunity of making any return. For thoſe "that owe money, can pay it to the heirs of the deceaſed, "but when a return of kindneſſes is not made to a perſon "in his lifetime, it grieves the heart that has any goodneſs "and honor in it." When ſome adviſed him to baniſh a certain ill tongued Ambracian, who abuſed him behind his back, "Let the fellow ſtay here," ſaid he, "and ſpeak "againſt me to a few, rather than ramble about, and give "me a bad character to all the world." And ſome young men having taken great liberties with his character in their cups, and being afterwards brought to anſwer for it, he aſked them, "Whether they really had ſaid ſuch "things?" "We did, Sir," anſwered one of them, "and "ſhould have ſaid a great deal more, if we had had more "wine."—Upon which he laughed, and diſmiſſed them.

After the death of Antigone, he married ſeveral wives for the purpoſes of intereſt and power; namely, the daughter of Autoleon, king of the Pæonians; Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, king of the Illyrians; and Lanaſſa, the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuſe, who brought him in dowry the iſle of Corcyra, which her father had taken. By Antigone he had a ſon named Ptolemy; by Lanaſſa he had Alexander; and by Bircenna his youngeſt ſon Helenus. All theſe princes had naturally a turn for war, and he quickened their

* This is differently related in the life of Flaminius. There it is ſaid, that Hannibal placed Alexander firſt, Pyrrhus ſecond, and himſelf the third.

martial ardor by giving them a ſuitable education from their infancy. For it is ſaid, when he was aſked by one of them, who was yet a child, "To which of them he "would leave his kingdom?" he ſaid, "to him who has "the ſharpeſt ſword." This was very like that tragical legacy of Œdipus to his ſons,

The ſword's keen point th' inheritance ſhall part.*

After the battle Pyrrhus returned home diſtinguiſhed with glory, and ſtill more elevated in his ſentiments. The Epirots having given him on this occaſion the name of Eagle, he ſaid, "If I am an eagle, you have made me "one; for it is upon your arms, upon your wings, that "I have riſen ſo high."

Soon after, having intelligence that Demetrius lay dangerouſly ill, he ſuddenly entered Macedonia,† intending only an inroad to pillage the country. But he was very near ſeizing the whole, and taking the kingdom without a blow. For he puſhed forward as far as Edeſſa without meeting with any reſiſtance; on the contrary, many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp and joined him. The danger awaked Demetrius, and made him act above his ſtrength. His friends too, and officers quickly aſſembled a good body of troops, and moved forward with great ſpirit and vigor againſt Pyrrhus. But as he came only with a deſign to plunder, he did not ſtand to receive them. He loſt however a conſiderable number of men in his retreat, for the Macedonians haraſſed his rear all the way.

Demetrius, though he had driven out Pyrrhus with ſo much eaſe, was far from ſlighting and deſpiſing him afterwards. But as he meditated great things, and had determined to attempt the recovery of his paternal kingdom with an army of a hundred thouſand men, and five hundred ſail of ſhips, he thought it not prudent either to embroil himſelf with Pyrrhus, or to leave behind him ſo dangerous a neighbor. And as he was not at leiſure to continue the war with him, he concluded a peace, that he might turn his arms with more ſecurity againſt the other kings.‡ The deſigns of Demetrius were ſoon diſcovered by this peace,

* Pheniſſæ of Euripides, ver. 68.

† In the third year of the hundred and twentythird Olympiad, two hundred and eightyfour years before Chriſt.

‡ Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lyſimachus.

and by the greatneſs of his preparations. The kings were alarmed, and ſent ambaſſadors to Pyrrhus with letters, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment, that he neglected his opportunity to make war upon Demetrius. They repreſented with how much eaſe he might drive him out of Macedonia; thus engaged as he was in many troubleſome enterpriſes; inſtead of which, he waited till Demetrius had deſpatched all his other affairs, and was grown ſo much more powerful as to be able to bring the war to his own doors, and to put him under the neceſſity of fighting for the altars of his gods and the ſepulchres of his anceſtors in Moloſſia itſelf; and this too, when he had juſt been deprived by Demetrius of the iſle of Corcyra, together with his wife. For Lanaſſa having her complaints againſt Pyrrhus, for paying more attention to his other wives, though barbarians, than to her, had retired to Corcyra; and, wanting to marry another king, invited Demetrius to receive her hand, knowing him to be more inclined to marriage than any of the neighboring princes. Accordingly he ſailed to the iſland, married Lanaſſa, and left a garriſon in the city.

The kings, at the ſame time that they wrote theſe letters to Pyrrhus, took the field themſelves to haraſs Demetrius, who delayed his expedition, and continued his preparations. Ptolemy put to ſea with a great fleet, and drew off many of the Grecian cities. Lyſimachus entered the upper Macedonia from Thrace and ravaged the country. And Pyrrhus taking up arms at the ſame time, marched againſt Berœa, expecting that Demetrius would go to meet Lyſimachus, and leave the lower Macedonia unguarded; which fell out accordingly. The night before he ſet out, he dreamed that Alexander the Great called him, and that when he came to him, he found him ſick in bed, but was received with many obliging expreſſions of friendſhip, and a promiſe of ſudden aſſiſtance. Pyrrhus ſaid, "How can "you, Sir, who are ſick, be able to aſſiſt me?" Alexander anſwered, "I will do it with my name;" and at the ſame time, he mounted a Niſæan horſe,* and ſeemed to lead the way.

Pyrrhus, greatly encouraged by this viſion, advanced with the utmoſt expedition, and having traverſed the inter-

* Niſæa was a province near the Caſpian ſea, which Strabo tells us was famous for its breed of horſes. The kings of Perſia uſed to provide themſelves there. *Strabo*, lib. xi.

mediate countries, came before Berœa and took it. There he fixed his head quarters, and reduced the other cities by his generals. When Demetrius received intelligence of this, and perceived moreover, a ſpirit of mutiny among the Macedonians in his camp, he was afraid to proceed farther, leſt, when they came in ſight of a Macedonian prince, and one of an illuſtrious character too, they ſhould revolt to him. He therefore turned back, and led them againſt Pyrrhus, who was a ſtranger, and the object of their hatred. Upon his encamping near Berœa, many inhabitants of that place mixed with his ſoldiers, and highly extolled Pyrrhus. They repreſented him as a man invincible in arms, of uncommon magnanimity, and one who treated thoſe who fell into his hands with great gentleneſs and humanity. There were alſo ſome of Pyrrhus's emiſſaries, who, pretending themſelves Macedonians, obſerved to Demetrius's men, that then was the time to get free from his cruel yoke, and to embrace the intereſts of Pyrrhus, who was a popular man and who loved a ſoldier. After this, the greateſt part of the army was in a ferment, and they caſt their eyes around for Pyrrhus. It happened that he was then without his helmet; but recollecting himſelf, he ſoon put it on again, and was immediately known by his lofty plume and his creſt of goats horns.* Many of the Macedonians now ran to him, and begged him to give them the word;† while others crowned themſelves with branches of oak, becauſe they ſaw them worn by his men. Some had even the confidence to tell Demetrius, that the moſt prudent part he could take, would be to withdraw, and lay down the government. As he found the motions of the army agreeable to this ſort of diſcourſe, he was terrified and made off privately, diſguiſed in a mean cloak, and a common Macedonian hat. Pyrrhus, upon this, became maſter of the camp without ſtriking a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedonia.

Lyſimachus made his appearance ſoon after, and, pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of

* Alexander the Great is repreſented on his medals with ſuch a creſt. The goat, indeed, was the ſymbol of the kingdom of Macedon. The prophet Daniel uſes it as ſuch. The original of that ſymbol may be found in Juſtin.

† *συνθημα προστρεχοντας αυτοις*———

συνθημα many ſignify *the word*, becauſe it helps to keep the ſoldiers together.

Demetrius, demanded his ſhare of the kingdom. Pyrrhus, as he thought himſelf not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed among the Macedonians, but rather in a dubious ſituation, accepted the propoſal; and they divided the cities and provinces between them. This partition ſeemed to be of ſervice for the preſent, and prevented their going directly to war; but, ſoon after, they found it the beginning of perpetual complaints and quarrels, inſtead of a perfect reconciliation. For how is it poſſible that they whoſe ambition is not to be terminated by ſeas and mountains and uninhabitable deſerts, whoſe thirſt of dominion is not to be confined by the bounds that part Europe and Aſia, ſhould, when ſo near each other, and joined in one lot, ſit down contented, and abſtain from mutual injuries? Undoutedly they are always at war in their hearts, having the feeds of perfidy and envy there. As for the names of peace and war, they apply them occaſionally, like money, to their uſe, not to the purpoſes of juſtice. And they act with much more probity when they profeſſedly make war, than when they ſanctify a ſhort truce, and ceſſation of mutual injuries, with the names of juſtice and friendſhip. Pyrrhus was a proof of this. For oppoſing Demetrius again, when his affairs began to be a little reeſtabliſhed, and checking his power, which ſeemed to be recovering, as it were from a great illneſs, he marched to the aſſiſtance of the Grecians, and went in perſon to Athens. He aſcended into the citidel, and ſacrificed to the goddeſs; after which he came down into the city the ſame day, and thus addreſſed the people; "I think "myſelf happy in this teſtimony of the kind regard of the "Athenians; and of the confidence they put in me; I ad- "viſe them, however, as they tender their ſafety, never "to admit another king within their walls, but to ſhut "their gates againſt all that ſhall deſire it."*

Soon after this he concluded a peace with Demetrius; And yet Demetrius was no ſooner paſſed into Aſia, than Pyrrhus, at the inſtigation of Lyſimachus, drew off Theſſaly from its allegiance, and attacked his garriſons in Greece. He found, indeed, the Macedonians better ſubjects in time of war than in peace, beſides that he himſelf was more fit for action than repoſe. At laſt Demetrius being entirely

* The Athenians followed his advice, and drove out Demetrius's garriſon.

defeated in Syria, Lyſimachus, who had nothing to fear from that quarter, nor any other affairs to engage him, immediately turned his forces againſt Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edeſſa. Upon his arrival, he fell upon one of the king's convoys, and took it, by which he greatly diſtreſſed his troops for want of proviſions. Beſides this, he corrupted the principal Macedonians by his letters and emiſſaries, reproaching them for chooſing for their ſovereign a ſtranger, whoſe anceſtors had always been ſubject to the Macedonians, while they expelled the friends and companions of Alexander. As the majority liſtened to theſe ſuggeſtions, Pyrrhus, fearing the event, withdrew with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, and ſo loſt Macedonia in the ſame manner he had gained it. Kings, therefore, have no reaſon to blame the people for changing for intereſt, ſince in that they do but imitate their maſters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiouſneſs, and who think that man moſt capable of ſerving them, who pays the leaſt regard to honeſty.

When Pyrrhus had thus retired into Epirus, and left Macedonia, he had a fair occaſion given him by fortune to enjoy himſelf in quiet, and to govern his own kingdom in peace. But he was perſuaded, that neither to annoy others, nor to be annoyed by them, was a life inſufferably languiſhing and tedious. Like Achilles, he could not endure inaction:

> He pin'd in dull repoſe; his heart indignant
> Bade the ſcene change to war, to wounds, and death.

His anxiety for freſh employment was relieved as follows: The Romans were then at war with the Tarentines. The latter were not able to ſupport the diſpute, and yet the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men would not ſuffer them to put an end to it. They reſolved, therefore, to call in Pyrrhus, and put their forces under his command; there being no other prince who had then ſo much leiſure, or was ſo able a general. The oldeſt and moſt ſenſible of the citizens oppoſed this meaſure, but were overborne by the noiſe and violence of the multitude; and when they ſaw this, they no longer attended the aſſemblies. But there was a worthy man, named Meton, who, on the day that the decree was to be ratified, after the people had taken their ſeats, came into the aſſembly, with an air of intoxication,

having, like perſons in that condition, a withered garland upon his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman playing on the flute before him. As no decorum can well be obſerved by a crowd of people in a free ſtate, ſome clapped their hands, others laughed, but nobody pretended to ſtop him. On the contrary, they called upon the woman to play, and him to come forward and ſing. Silence being made, he ſaid, "Men of Tarentum, ye do extremely well "to ſuffer thoſe who have a mind to it, to play and be "merry, while they may; and, if you are wiſe, you will "all now enjoy the ſame liberty; for you muſt have other "buſineſs, and another kind of life, when Pyrrhus once "enters your city." This addreſs made a great impreſſion upon the Tarentines, and a whiſper of aſſent ran through the aſſembly. But ſome fearing that they ſhould be delivered up to the Romans, if peace were made, reproached the people with ſo tamely ſuffering themſelves to be made a jeſt of, and inſulted by a drunkard; and then turning upon Meton, they thruſt him out. The decree thus being confirmed, they ſent ambaſſadors to Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines, but of the other Greeks in Italy, with preſents to Pyrrhus, and orders to tell him, "That they wanted a general of ability and character.— "As for troops, he would find a large ſupply of them "upon the ſpot, from the Lucanians, the Meſſapians, the "Samnites, and Tarentines, to the amount of twenty "thouſand horſe, and three hundred and fifty thouſand "foot." Theſe promiſes not only elevated Pyrrhus, but raiſed in the Epirots a ſtrong inclination to the war.

There was then at the court of Pyrrhus, a Theſſalian named Cineas, a man of ſound ſenſe, and who having been a diſciple of Demoſthenes, was the only orator of his time that preſented his hearers with a lively image of the force and ſpirit of that great maſter. This man had devoted himſelf to Pyrrhus, and in all the embaſſies he was employed in, confirmed that ſaying of Euripides:

The gates that ſteel exclude, reſiſtleſs eloquence ſhall enter.

This made Pyrrhus ſay, "That Cineas had gained him "more cities by his addreſs, than he had won by his arms;" and he continued to heap honors and employments upon him. Cineas now ſeeing Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he ſaw him at

leiſure, to draw him into the following converſation:—"The Romans have the reputation of being excellent "ſoldiers, and have the command of many warlike na-"tions; if it pleaſe Heaven that we conquer them, what "uſe, Sir, ſhall we make of our victory?" "Cineas," replied the king, "your queſtion anſwers itſelf. When "the Romans are once ſubdued, there is no town, wheth-"er Greek or barbarian, in all the country that will dare "oppoſe us; but we ſhall immediately be maſters of all "Italy, whoſe greatneſs, power, and importance, no man "knows better than you." Cineas, after a ſhort pauſe, continued: "But, after we have conquered Italy, what "ſhall we do next, Sir?" Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his drift, replied, "There is Sicily very near, and ſtretches "out her arms to receive us, a fruitful and populous iſ-"and, and eaſy to be taken. For Agathocles was no ſoon-"er gone, than faction and anarchy prevailed among her "cities, and every thing is kept in confuſion by her tur-"bulent demagogues." "What you ſay, my prince," ſaid Cineas, "is very probable; but is the taking of Sic-"ily to conclude our expeditions?" "Far from it," anſwered Pyrrhus, "for if Heaven grant us ſucceſs in this, "that ſucceſs ſhall only be the prelude to greater things. "Who can forbear Libya and Carthage, then within "reach? which Agathocles, even when he fled in a clan-"deſtine manner from Syracuſe, and croſſed the ſea with "a few ſhips only, had almoſt made himſelf maſter of. "And when we have made ſuch conqueſts, who can pre-"tend to ſay that any of our enemies, who are now ſo in-"ſolent, will think of reſiſting us?" "To be ſure," ſaid Cineas, "they will not; for it is clear that ſo much pow-"er will enable you to recover Macedonia, and to eſtab-"liſh yourſelf unconteſted ſovereign of Greece. But "when we have conquered all, what are we to do then?" "Why then, my friend," ſaid Pyrrhus, laughing, "we "will take our eaſe, and drink and be merry." Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, "And what hin-"ders us from drinking and taking our eaſe now, when "we have already thoſe things in our hands, at which "we propoſe to arrive through ſeas of blood, through in-"finite toils and dangers, through innumerable calamities "which we muſt both cauſe and ſuffer?".

This diſcourſe of Cineas gave Pyrrhus pain, but produced no reformation. He ſaw the certain happineſs which he gave up, but was not able to forego the hopes that flattered his deſires. In the firſt place, therefore, he ſent Cineas to Tarentum with three thouſand foot; from whence there arrived, ſoon after, a great number of galleys, tranſports, and flat bottomed boats, on board of which he put twenty elephants, three thouſand horſe, twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand archers, and five hundred ſlingers. When all was ready, he ſet ſail; but as ſoon as he was got into the midſt of the Ionian, he was attaked by a violent wind at north, which was unuſual at that ſeaſon. The ſtorm raged terribly, but by the ſkill and extraordinary efforts of his pilots and mariners, his ſhip made the Italian ſhore, with infinite labor, and beyond all expectation. The reſt of the fleet could not hold their courſe, but were diſperſed far and wide. Some of the ſhips were quite beaten off from the coaſt of Italy, and driven into the Lybian and Sicilian ſea; others, not being able to double the Cape of Japygia, were overtaken by the night; and, a great and boiſterous ſea driving them upon a difficult and rocky ſhore, they were all in the utmoſt diſtreſs. The king's ſhip, indeed, by its ſize and ſtrength, reſiſted the force of the waves, while the wind blew from the ſea; but that coming about, and blowing directly, from the ſhore, the ſhip, as ſhe ſtood with her head againſt it, was in danger of opening by the ſhocks ſhe received. And yet to be driven off again into a tempeſtuous ſea, while the wind continually ſhifted from point to point, ſeemed the moſt dreadful caſe of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus threw himſelf overboard, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, who ſtrove which ſhould give him the beſt aſſiſtance. But the darkneſs of the night, and the roaring and reſiſtance of the waves, which beat upon the ſhore, and were driven back with equal violence, rendered it extremely difficult to ſave him. At laſt, by day break the wind being conſiderably fallen, with much trouble he got aſhore, greatly weakened in body, but with a ſtrength and firmneſs of mind which bravely combated the diſtreſs. At the ſame time the Meſſapians, on whoſe coaſt he was caſt, ran down to give them all the ſuccor in their power. They alſo met with ſome other of his veſſels that had weathered the ſtorm, in which were a ſmall number of horſe, not quite two thouſand foot, and

two elephants. With these Pyrrhus marched to Tarentum.

When Cineas was informed of this, he drew out his forces, and went to meet him. Pyrrhus, upon his arrival at Tarentum, did not choose to have recourse to compulsion at first, nor to do any thing against the inclination of the inhabitants, till his ships were safe arrived, and the greatest part of his forces collected. But, after this, seeing the Tarentines, so far from being in a condition to defend others, that they would not even defend themselves, except they were driven to it by necessity; and that they sate still at home, and spent their time about the baths or in feasting and idle talk, as expecting that he would fight for them; he shut up the places of exercise and the walks, where they used, as they sauntered along, to conduct the war with words. He also put a stop to their unseasonable entertainments, revels, and diversions. Instead of these, he called them to arms, and in his musters and reviews was severe and inexorable; so that many of them quitted the place; for being unaccustomed to be under command, they called that a slavery which was not a life of pleasure.

He now received intelligence that Lævinus, the Roman consul, was coming against him with a great army, and ravaging Lucania by the way. And though the confederates were not come up, yet looking upon it as a disgrace to sit still and see the enemy approach still nearer, he took the field with the troops he had. But first he sent a herald to the Romans, with proposals, before they came to extremities, to terminate their differences amicably with the Greeks in Italy, by taking him for the mediator and umpire. Lævinus answered, "That the Romans neither "accepted Pyrrhus as a mediator, nor feared him as an "enemy." Whereupon, he marched forward, and encamped upon the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and having notice that the Romans were near, and lay on the other side of the river Siris, he rode up to the river to take a view of them. When he saw the order of their troops, the appointment of their watches, and the regularity of their whole encampment, he was struck with admiration, and said to a friend who was by, "Megacles, "the disposition of these barbarians has nothing of the "barbarian in it; we shall see whether the rest will answer "it." He now became solicitous for the event, and de-

termining to wait for the allies, ſet a guard upon the river, to oppoſe the Romans, if they ſhould endeavor to paſs it. The Romans, on their part haſtening to prevent the coming up of thoſe forces, which he had reſolved to wait for, attempted the paſſage. The infantry took to the fords, and the cavalry got over wherever they could; ſo that the Greeks were afraid of being ſurrounded, and retreated to their main body.

Pyrrhus, greatly concerned at this, ordered his foot officers to draw up the forces, and to ſtand to their arms; while he advanced with the horſe, who were about three thouſand, in hopes of finding the Romans yet buſied in the paſſage, and diſperſed without any order. But when he ſaw a great number of ſhields glittering above the water, and the horſe preſerving their ranks as they paſſed, he cloſed his own ranks and began the attack. Beſide his being diſtinguiſhed by the beauty and luſtre of his arms which were of very curious fabric, he performed acts of valor worthy the great reputation he had acquired. For, though he expoſed his perſon in the hotteſt of the engagement, and charged with the greateſt vigor, he was never in the leaſt diſturbed, nor loſt his preſence of mind; but gave his orders as coolly as if he had been out of the action, and moved to this ſide or that as occaſion required, to ſupport his men where he ſaw them maintaining an unequal fight.

Leonatus of Macedon obſerved an Italian horſemen very intent upon Pyrrhus, changing his poſt as he did, and regulated all his motions by his. Whereupon he rode up, and ſaid to him, "Do you ſee, Sir, that barbarian upon "the black horſe with white feet? He ſeems to meditate "ſome great and dreadful deſign. He keeps you in his "eye; full of fire and ſpirit, he ſingles you out, and takes "no notice of any body elſe. Therefore be on your guard "againſt him." Pyrrhus anſwered, "It is impoſſible, "Leonatus, to avoid our deſtiny. But neither this nor any "other Italian ſhall have much ſatisfaction in engaging "with me." While they were yet ſpeaking, the Italian levelled his ſpear, and ſpurred his horſe againſt Pyrrhus. He miſſed the king, but run his horſe through, as Leonatus did the Italian's the ſame moment, to that both horſes fell together. Pyrrhus was carried off by his friends who gathered round him, and killed the Italian, who fought to the very laſt. This brave man had the command of a troop of

horſe; Ferentum was the place of his birth, and his name Oplacus.

This made Pyrrhus more cautious. And now ſeeing his cavalry give ground, he ſent his infantry orders to advance, and formed them as ſoon as they came up. Then giving his robe and his arms to Megacles one of his friends, he diſguiſed himſelf in his, and proceeded to the charge. The Romans received him with great firmneſs, and the ſucceſs of the battle remained long undecided. It is even ſaid, that each army was broken and gave way ſeven times, and rallied as often. He changed his arms very ſeaſonably, for that ſaved his life; but at the ſame time it had nearly ruined his affairs, and loſt him the victory. Many aimed at Megacles; but the man who firſt wounded him and brought him to the ground, was named Dexous. Dexous ſeized his helmet and his robe, and rode up to Lævinus, ſhowing the ſpoils, and crying out that he had ſlain Pyrrhus. The ſpoils being paſſed from rank to rank, as it were in triumph, the Roman army ſhouted for joy, while that of the Greeks was ſtruck with grief and conſternation. This held till Pyrrhus, apprifed of what had happened, rode about the army uncovered, ſtretching out his hand to his ſoldiers, and giving them to know him by his voice. At laſt the Romans were worſted, chiefly by means of the elephants. For the horſes, before they came near them, were frightened, and ran back with their riders; and Pyrrhus commanding his Theſſalian cavalry to fall upon them while in this diſorder, they were routed with great ſlaughter. Dionyſius writes, that near fifteen thouſand Romans fell in this battle; but Hieronymus makes the number only ſeven thouſand. On Pyrrhus's ſide, Dionyſius ſays, there were thirteen thouſand killed; Hieronymus, not quite four thouſand. Among theſe, however, were the moſt valuable of his friends and officers, whoſe ſervices he had made great uſe of, and in whom he had placed the higheſt confidence.

Pyrrhus immediately entered the Roman camp, which he found deſerted. He gained over many cities which had been in alliance with Rome, and laid waſte the territories of others. Nay, he advanced to within thirty-ſeven miles of Rome itſelf. The Lucanians and the Samnites joined him after the battle, and were reproved for their delay; but it was plain that he was greatly elevated and delighted,

with having defeated ſo powerful an army of Romans with the aſſiſtance of the Tarentines only.

The Romans, on this occaſion, did not take the command from Lævinus, though Caius Fabricius is reported to have ſaid, "That the Romans were not overcome by "the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus;" intimating, that the defeat was owing to the inferiority of the general, not of his troops. Then raiſing new levies, filling up their legions, and talking in a lofty and menacing tone about the war, they ſtruck Pyrrhus with amazement. He thought proper, therefore, to ſend an embaſſy to them firſt, to try whether they were diſpoſed to peace; being ſatisfied that to take the city, and make an abſolute conqueſt, was an undertaking of too much difficulty to be effected by ſuch an army as his was at that time; whereas if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be very glorious for him after ſuch a victory.

Cineas, who was ſent with this commiſſion, applied to the great men, and ſent them and their wives preſents in his maſter's name. But they all refuſed them; the women as well as the men, declaring, "That when Rome had "publicly ratified a treaty with the king, they ſhould then "on their parts be ready to give him every mark of their "friendſhip and reſpect." And though Cineas made a very engaging ſpeech to the ſenate, and uſed many arguments to induce them to cloſe with him, yet they lent not a willing ear to his propoſitions, notwithſtanding that Pyrrhus offered to reſtore, without ranſom, the priſoners he had made in the battle, and promiſed to aſſiſt them in the conqueſt of Italy, deſiring nothing in return but their friendſhip for himſelf, and ſecurity for the Tarentines. Some, indeed, ſeemed inclined to peace, urging that they had already loſt a great battle, and had a ſtill greater to expect, ſince Pyrrhus was joined by ſeveral nations in Italy. There was then an illuſtrious Roman, Appius Claudius by name, who, on account of his great age and the loſs of his ſight, had declined all attendance to public buſineſs. But when he heard of the embaſſy from Pyrrhus, and the report prevailed that the ſenate was going to vote for the peace, he could not contain himſelf, but ordered his ſervants to take him up, and carry him in his chair through the *forum* to the ſenate houſe. When he was brought to the door, his

ſons and ſons in law received him, and led him into the ſenate. A reſpectful ſilence was obſerved by the whole body on his appearance; and he delivered his ſentiments in the following terms: "Hitherto I have regarded my "blindneſs as a misfortune, but now, Romans, I wiſh I "had been as deaf as I am blind; for then I ſhould not "have heard of your ſhameful counſels and decrees ſo "ruinous to the glory of Rome. Where now are your "ſpeeches ſo much echoed about the world, that if Alex-"ander the Great had come into Italy, when we were "young, and your fathers in the vigor of their age, he "would not now be celebrated as invincible, but either "by his flight or his fall would have added to the glory "of Rome? You now ſhow the vanity and folly of that "boaſt, while you dread the Chaonians and Moloſſians, "who were ever a prey to the Macedonians, and tremble "at the name of Pyrrhus, who has all his life been paying "his court to one of the guards of that Alexander. At "preſent he wanders about Italy, not ſo much to ſuccor "the Greeks here, as to avoid his enemies at home; and "he promiſes to procure us the empire of this country "with thoſe forces, which could not enable him to keep "a ſmall part of Macedonia. Do not expect, then, to get "rid of him, by entering into alliance with him. That "ſtep will only open a door to many invaders. For who "is there that will not deſpiſe you, and think you an eaſy "conqueſt, if Pyrrhus not only eſcapes unpuniſhed for "his inſolence, but gains the Tarentines and Samnites, as "a reward for inſulting the Romans?"

Appius had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than they voted unanimouſly for the war, and diſmiſſed Cineas with this anſwer, "That when Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, they "would enter upon a treaty of friendſhip and alliance "with him, if he deſired it; but while he continued there "in a hoſtile manner, they would proſecute the war againſt "him with all their force, though he ſhould have defeated "a thouſand Lævinus's."

It is ſaid, that Cineas, while he was upon this buſineſs, took great pains to obſerve the manners of the Romans, and to examine into the nature of their government. And when he had learned what he deſired by converſing with their great men, he made a faithful report of all to Pyrrhus; and told him, among the reſt, "That the ſenate

" appeared to him an assembly of kings; and as to the " people, they were so numerous, that he was afraid he " had to do with a Lernæan hydra." For the consul had already an army on foot twice as large as the former, and had left multitudes behind in Rome of a proper age for enlisting, and sufficient to form many such armies.

After this, Fabricius came ambassador to Pyrrhus to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners. Fabricius, as Cineas informed Pyrrhus, was highly valued by the Romans for his probity and martial abilities, but he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus received him with particular distinction, and privately offered him gold; not for any base purpose; but he begged him to accept of it as a pledge of friendship and hospitality. Fabricius refusing the present, Pyrrhus pressed him no farther; but the next day wanting to surprise him, and knowing that he had never seen an elephant, he ordered the biggest he had to be armed and placed behind a curtain in the room where they were to be in conference. Accordingly this was done, and upon a sign given, the curtain drawn; and the elephant raising his trunk over the head of Fabricus, made a horrid and frightful noise. Fabricius turned about without being in the least discomposed, and said to Pyrrhus smiling, " Neither your gold yesterday, nor your beast today, has " made any impression upon me."

In the evening, the conversation at table turned upon many subjects, but chiefly upon Greece and the Grecian philosophers. This led Cineas to mention Epicurus,* and to give some account of the opinions of his sect concerning the gods and civil government. He said, they placed the chief happiness of man in pleasure, and avoided all concern in the administration of affairs as the bane of a happy life; and that they attributed to the Deity neither benevolence nor anger, but maintained, that, far removed from the care of human affairs, he passed his time in ease and inactivity, and was totally immersed in pleasure. While he was yet speaking, Fabricius cried out, " O heavens! may " Pyrrhus and the Samnites adopt these opinions as long " as they are at war with the Romans!" Pyrrhus admiring the noble sentiments and principles of Fabricius,

* Epicurus was then living. The doctrines of that philosopher were greatly in vogue in Rome, just before the ruin of the commonwealth.

was more desirous than ever of establishing a friendship with Rome, instead of continuing the war. And taking Fabricius aside, he pressed him to mediate a peace, and then go and settle at his court, where he should be his most intimate companion, and the chief of his generals. Fabricius answered in a low voice, "That, Sir, would be no "advantage to you; for those who now honor and admire you, should they once have experience of me, "would rather choose to be governed by me than you." Such was the character of Fabricius.

Pyrrhus, far from being offended at this answer, or taking it like a tyrant, made his friends acquainted with the magnanimity of Fabricius, and intrusted the prisoners to him, only on condition that if the senate did not agree to a peace, they should be sent back, after they had embraced their relations, and celebrated the Saturnalia.

After this, Fabricius being consul,* an unknown person came to his camp with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take off Pyrrhus by poison, and so end the war without any farther hazard to the Romans, provided that they gave him a proper compensation for his services. Fabricius detested the man's villany; and, having brought his colleague into the same sentiments, sent despatches to Pyrrhus without losing a moment's time, to caution him against the treason. The letter ran thus:

"Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, consuls, to "king Pyrrhus, health.

"It appears that you judge very ill both of your friends "and enemies. For you will find by this letter which was "sent to us, that you are at war with men of virtue and "honor, and trust knaves and villains. Nor is it out of "kindness that we give you this information; but we do "it, lest your death should bring a disgrace upon us, and "we should seem to have put a period to the war by "treachery, when we could not do it by valor."

Pyrrhus having read the letter, and detected the treason, punished the physician; and, to show his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, he delivered up the prisoners without ransom, and sent Cineas again to negotiate a peace. The Romans, unwilling to receive a favor from an enemy, or a reward for not consenting to an ill thing, did indeed receive the prisoners at his hands, but sent him an equal

* Two hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ.

number of Tarentines and Samnites. As to peace and friendſhip, they would not hear any propoſals about it, till Pyrrhus ſhould have laid down his arms, drawn his forces out of Italy, and returned to Epirus in the ſame ſhips in which he came.

His affairs now requiring another battle, he aſſembled his army, and marched and attacked the Romans near Aſculum. The ground was very rough and uneven, and marſhy* alſo towards the river, ſo that it was extremely inconvenient for the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from acting with the infantry. For this reaſon he had a great number of men killed and wounded, and might have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the battle. Next day, contriving, by an act of generalſhip, to engage upon even ground, where his elephants might come at the enemy, he ſeized in time that difficult poſt where they fought the day before. Then he planted a number of archers and ſlingers among his elephants; thickened his other ranks; and moved forward in good order, though with great force and impetuoſity againſt the Romans.

The Romans, who had not now the advantage of ground for attacking and retreating as they pleaſed, were obliged to fight upon the plain man to man. They haſtened to break the enemy's infantry, before the elephants came up, and made prodigious efforts with their ſwords againſt the pikes; not regarding themſelves or the wounds they received, but only looking where they might ſtrike and ſlay. After a long diſpute, however, the Romans were forced to give way; which they did firſt where Pyrrhus fought in perſon; for they could not reſiſt the fury of his attack. Indeed, it was the force and weight of the elephants which put them quite to the rout. The Roman valor being of no uſe againſt thoſe fierce creatures, the troops thought it wiſer to give way, as to an overwhelming torrent or an earthquake, than to fall in a fruitleſs oppoſition, when they could gain no advantage, though they ſuffered the greateſt extremities. And they had not far to fly before they gained their camp. Hieronymus ſays the Romans loſt ſix thouſand men in the action, and Pyrrhus, according to the account

* ὑλώδης ſignifies *marſhy*, as well as *woody*.

in his own Commentaries, loſt three thouſand five hundred. Nevertheleſs, Dionyſius does not tell us, that there were two battles at Aſculum, nor that it was clear that the Romans were defeated; but that the action laſted till ſun ſet, and then the combatants parted unwillingly, Pyrrhus being wounded in the arm with a javelin, and the Samnites having plundered his baggage; and that the number of the ſlain, counting the loſs on both ſides, amounted to above fifteen thouſand men. When they had all quitted the field, and Pyrrhus was congratulated on the victory, he ſaid, "Such "another victory, and we are undone." For he had loſt great part of the forces which he brought with him, and all his friends and officers, except a very ſmall number. He had no others to ſend for, to ſupply their place, and he found his confederates here very cold and ſpiritleſs. Whereas the Romans filled up their legions with eaſe and deſpatch, from an inexhauſtible fountain which they had at home; and their defeats were ſo far from diſcouraging them, that indignation gave them freſh ſtrength and ardor for the war.

Amidſt theſe difficulties, new hopes, as vain as the former, offered themſelves to Pyrrhus, and enterpriſes which diſtracted him in the choice. On one ſide, ambaſſadors came from Sicily, who propoſed to put Syracuſe, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines in his hands, and deſired him to drive the Carthaginians out of the iſland, and free it from tyrants; and on the other ſide, news was brought him from Greece, that Ptolemy Ceraunus was ſlain in battle by the Gauls, and that this would be a ſeaſonable juncture for him to offer himſelf to the Macedonians who wanted a king.* On this occaſion he complained greatly of fortune, for offering him two ſuch glorious opportunities of action at once; and afflicted to think that in embracing one, he muſt neceſſarily give up the other, he was a long time perplexed and doubtful which to fix upon. At laſt the expedition to Sicily appearing to him the more important, by reaſon of its nearneſs to Africa, he determined to go thither, and immediately deſpatched Cineas before

* Ptolemy Ceraunus was ſlain three years before, during the conſulate of Lævinus. After him the Macedonians had ſeveral kings in quick ſucceſſion. All, therefore, that the letters could import, muſt be, that the Macedonians would perſer Pyrrhus to Antigonus, who at preſent was in poſſeſſion.

him, according to cuſtom, to treat with the cities in his behalf. He placed, however, a ſtrong garriſon in Tarentum, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the people; who inſiſted that he ſhould either fulfil the purpoſe he came for, by ſtaying to aſſiſt them effectually in the Roman war, or, if he would be gone, to leave their city as he found it. But he gave them a ſevere anſwer, ordered them to be quiet and wait his time, and ſo ſet ſail.

When he arrived in Sicily, he found every thing diſpoſed agreeably to his hopes. The cities readily put themſelves in his hands; and wherever force was neceſſary, nothing at firſt made any conſiderable reſiſtance to his arms. But with thirty thouſand foot, two thouſand five hundred horſe, and two hundred ſail of ſhips, he advanced againſt the Carthaginians, drove them before him, and ruined their province. Eryx was the ſtrongeſt city in thoſe parts, and, the beſt provided with men for its defence; yet he reſolved to take it by ſtorm. As ſoon as his army was in readineſs to give the aſſault, he armed himſelf at all points; and, advancing towards the walls, made a vow to Hercules of games and ſacrifices in acknowledgment of the victory, if in that day's action he ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf before the Greeks in Sicily, in a manner that became his great deſcent and his fortunes. Then he ordered the ſignal to be given by ſound of trumpet; and having driven the barbarians from the walls with his miſſive weapons, he planted the ſcaling ladders, and was himſelf the firſt that mounted.

There he was attacked by a crowd of enemies, ſome of whom he drove back, others he puſhed down from the wall on both ſides; but the greateſt part he ſlew with his ſword, ſo that there was quite a rampart of dead bodies around him. In the mean time he himſelf received not the leaſt harm, but appeared to his enemies in the awful character of ſome ſuperior being; ſhowing on this occaſion, that Homer ſpoke with judgment and knowledge, when he repreſented valor as the only virtue which diſcovers a divine energy, and thoſe enthuſiaſtic tranſports which raiſe a man above himſelf. When the city was taken, he offered a magnificent ſacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited a variety of ſhows and games.

Of all the barbarians, thoſe about Meſſena, who where called Mamertines, gave the Greeks the moſt trouble, and had ſubjected many of them to tribute. They were a

numerous and warlike people, and thence had the appellation of Mamertines, which in the Latin tongue ſignifies *martial*. But Pyrrhus ſeized the collectors of the tribute, and put them to death; and having defeated the Mamertines in a ſet battle, he deſtroyed many of their ſtrong holds.

The Carthaginians were now inclined to peace, and offered him both money and ſhips, on condition that he granted them his friendſhip. But, having farther proſpects, he made anſwer, that there was only one way to peace and friendſhip, which was, for the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily, and make the Libyan ſea the boundary between them and the Greeks. Elated with proſperity and his preſent ſtrength, he thought of nothing but purſuing the hopes which firſt drew him into Sicily.

His firſt object now was Africa. He had veſſels enough for his purpoſe, but he wanted mariners. And in the collecting of them he was far from proceeding with lenity and moderation; on the contrary, he carried it to the cities with a high hand and with great rigor, ſeconding his orders for a ſupply with force, and ſeverely chaſtiſing thoſe who diſobeyed them. This was not the conduct which he had obſerved at firſt; for then he was gracious and affable to an extreme, placed an entire confidence in the people, and avoided giving them the leaſt uneaſineſs. By theſe means he had gained their hearts. But now turning from a popular prince into a tyrant, his auſterity drew upon him the imputation both of ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs. Neceſſity, however, obliged them to furniſh him with what he demanded, though they were little diſpoſed to it. But what chiefly alienated their affections, was his behavior to Thonon and Soſtratus, two perſons of the greateſt authority in Syracuſe. Theſe were the men who firſt invited him into Sicily, who upon his arrival immediately put their city in his hands, and who had been the principal inſtruments of the great things he had done in the iſland. Yet his ſuſpicions would neither let him take them with him, nor leave them behind him. Soſtratus took the alarm and fled. Whereupon Thonon was ſeized by Pyrrhus, who alleged that he was an accomplice with Soſtratus, and put him to death. Then his affairs ran to ruin, not gradually and by little and little, but all at once. And the violent hatred which the cities conceived for him, led ſome of them to join the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines.

While he thus ſaw nothing around him but cabals, ſeditions, and inſurrections, he received letters from the Samnites and Tarentines, who being quite driven out of the field, and with difficulty defending themſelves within their walls, begged his aſſiſtance. This afforded a handſome pretence for his departure, without its being called a flight and an abſolute giving up his affairs in Sicily. But the truth was, that no longer being able to hold the iſland, he quitted it, like a ſhattered ſhip, and threw himſelf again into Italy. It is reported, that, as he ſailed away, he looked back upon the iſle, and ſaid to thoſe about him, "What a field we "leave the Carthaginians and Romans to exerciſe their "arms in!" and his conjecture was ſoon after verified.

The barbarians roſe againſt him as he ſet ſail; and being attacked by the Carthaginians on his paſſage, he loſt many of his ſhips; with the remainder he gained the Italian ſhore. The Mamertines, to the number of ten thouſand, had got thither before him; and, though they were afraid to come to a pitched battle, yet they attacked and haraſſed him in the difficult paſſes, and put his whole army in diſorder. He loſt two elephants, and a conſiderable part of his rear was cut in pieces. But he immediately puſhed from the van to their aſſiſtance, and riſked his perſon in the boldeſt manner, againſt men trained by long practice to war, who fought with a ſpirit of reſentment. In this diſpute he received a wound in the head, which forced him to retire a little out of the battle, and animated the enemy ſtill more. One of them, therefore, who was diſtinguiſhed both by his ſize and arms, advanced before the lines, and with a loud voice called upon him to come forth if he was alive. Pyrrhus incenſed at this, returned with his guards, and, with a viſage ſo fierce with anger, and ſo beſmeared with blood, that it was dreadful to look upon, made his way through his battalions, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances. Thus ruſhing upon the barbarian, he prevented his blow, and gave him ſuch a ſtroke on the head with his ſword, that, with the ſtrength of his arm, and the excellent temper of the weapon, he cleaved him quite down, and in one moment the parts fell aſunder. The achievement ſtopped the courſe of the barbarians, who were ſtruck with admiration and amazement at Pyrrhus, as at a ſuperior being. He made the reſt of his march, therefore, without diſturbance, and arrived at Tarentum with twenty thouſand

foot and three thouſand horſe. Then taking with him the beſt troops that he found there, he advanced immediately againſt the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

The affairs of the Samnites were run to ruin, and their ſpirits ſunk, becauſe they had been beaten in ſeveral battles by the Romans. There remained alſo in their hearts ſome reſentment againſt Pyrrhus on account of his leaving them to go to Sicily, ſo that few of them repaired to his ſtandard. The forces that he had, he divided into two bodies, one of which he detached into Lucania, to keep one of the conſuls* employed, and hinder him from aſſiſting his colleague; with the other corps he marched in perſon againſt the other conſul Manius Curius, who lay ſafely intrenched near the city of Beneventum, and declined fighting, as well in expectation of the ſuccors from Lucania, as on account of his being deterred from action by the augurs and ſoothſayers.

Pyrrhus haſtening to attack him before he could be joined by his colleague, took the choiceſt of his troops and the moſt warlike of his elephants, and puſhed forward in the night to ſurpriſe his camp. But as he had a long circuit to take, and the roads were entangled with trees and buſhes, his lights failed, and numbers of his men loſt their way. Thus the night eſcaped. At day break he was diſcovered by the enemy deſcending from the heights, which cauſed no ſmall diſorder in their camp. Manius, however, finding the ſacrifices auſpicious, and the time preſſing, iſſued out of his trenches, attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and put them to flight. This ſpread a conſternation through their whole army, ſo that many of them were killed, and ſome of the elephants taken. On the other hand, the ſucceſs led Manius to try a pitched battle. Engaging, therefore, in the open field, one of his wings defeated that of the enemy's; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and driven back to the trenches. In this exigency he called for thoſe troops that were left to guard the camp, who were all freſh men and well armed. Theſe, as they deſcended from their advantageous ſituation, pierced the elephants with their javelins, and forced them to turn their backs; and thoſe creatures ruſhing upon their own battalions, threw them into the

* Aulus Cornelius Lentulus.

greateſt confuſion and diſorder. This put the victory in the hands of the Romans, and empire together with the victory. For, by the courage exerted, and the great actions performed this day, they acquired a loftineſs of ſentiment, an enlargement of power, with the reputation of being invincible, which ſoon gained them all Italy, and Sicily a little after.

Thus Pyrrhus fell from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after he had waſted ſix years in theſe expeditions. It is true, he was not ſucceſsful; but amidſt all his defeats he preſerved his courage unconquerable, and was reputed to excel, in military experience and perſonal proweſs, all the princes of his time. But what he gained by his achievements, he loſt by vain hopes; his deſire of ſomething abſent, never ſuffered him effectually to perſevere in a preſent purſuit. Hence it was that Antigonus compared him to a gameſter, who makes many good throws at dice, but knows not how to make the beſt of his game.

He returned to Epirus with eight thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; but not having funds to maintain them, he ſought for a war which might anſwer that end. And being joined by a body of Gauls, he threw himſelf into Macedonia, where Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius reigned at that time. His deſign was only to pillage and carry off booty; but having taken many cities, and drawn over two thouſand of Antigonus's men, he enlarged his views, and marched againſt the king. Coming up with him in a narrow paſs, he put his whole army in diſorder. The Gauls, however, who compoſed Antigonus's rear, being a numerous body, made a gallant reſiſtance. The diſpute was ſharp, but at laſt moſt of them were cut in pieces; and they who had the charge of the elephants, being ſurrounded, delivered up both themſelves and the beaſts. After ſo great an advantage, Pyrrhus following his fortune rather than any rational plan, puſhed againſt the Macedonian phalanx, now ſtruck with terror and confuſion at their loſs. And perceiving that they refuſed to engage with him, he ſtretched out his hand to their commanders and other officers, at the ſame time calling them all by their names; by which means he drew over the enemy's infantry. Antigonus, therefore, was forced to fly; he perſuaded, however, ſome of the maritime towns to remain under his government.

Amidſt ſo many inſtances of ſucceſs Pyrrhus, concluding that his exploit againſt the Gauls was far the moſt glorious, conſecrated the moſt ſplendid and valuable of the ſpoils in the temple of Minerva Itonis, with this inſcription:

> Theſe ſpoils that Pyrrhus on the martial plain,
> Snatch'd from the vanquiſh'd Gaul, Itonian Pallas,
> He conſecrates to thee—If from his throne
> Antigonus deſerted fled, and ruin
> Purſued the ſword of Pyrrhus—'tis no wonder—
> From Æacus he ſprung.

After the battle he ſoon recovered the cities. When he had made himſelf maſter of Ægæ, among other hardſhips put upon the inhabitants, he left among them a garriſon draughted from thoſe Gauls who ſerved under him. The Gauls of all men are the moſt covetous of money; and they were no ſooner put in poſſeſſion of the town, than they broke open the tombs of the kings who were buried there, plundered the treaſures, and inſolently ſcattered their bones. Pyrrhus paſſed the matter very ſlightly over; whether it was that the affairs he had upon his hands, obliged him to put off the inquiry, or whether he was afraid of the Gauls, and did not dare to puniſh them. The connivance, however, was much cenſured by the Macedonians.

His intereſt was not well eſtabliſhed among them, nor had he any good proſpect of its ſecurity, when he began to entertain new viſionary hopes; and in ridicule of Antigonus, he ſaid, "He wondered at his impudence, in not "laying aſide the purple, and taking the habit of a pri-"vate perſon."

About this time, Cleonymus the Spartan came to entreat him that he would march to Lacedæmon, and he lent a willing ear to his requeſt. Cleonymus was of the blood royal; but as he ſeemed to be of a violent temper and inclined to arbitrary power, he was neither loved nor truſted by the Spartans, and Areus was appointed to the throne. This was an old complaint which he had againſt the citizens in general. But to this we muſt add, that when advanced in years he had married a young woman of great beauty, named Chelidonis, who was of the royal family, and daughter to Leotychides. Chelidonis entertaining a violent paſſion for Acrotatus the ſon of Areus, who was both young and handſome, rendered the match not only uneaſy, but

diſgraceful to Cleonymus who was miſerably in love; for there was not a man in Sparta who did not know how much he was deſpiſed by his wife. Theſe domeſtic miſfortunes added to his public ones, provoked him to apply to Pyrrhus, who marched to Sparta with twentyfive thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twentyfour elephants. Theſe great preparations made it evident at one view, that Pyrrhus did not come to gain Sparta for Cleonymus, but Peloponneſus for himſelf. He made, indeed very different profeſſions to the Lacedæmonians, who ſent an embaſſy to him at Megalopolis; for he told them that he was only come to ſet free the cities which were in ſubjection to Antigonus; and, what is more extraordinary, that he fully intended, if nothing happened to hinder it, to ſend his younger ſons to Sparta, for a Lacedæmonian education, that they might, in this reſpect, have the advantage of all other kings and princes.

With theſe pretences he amuſed thoſe that came to meet him on his march; but as ſoon as he ſet foot in Laconia, he began to plunder and ravage it. And upon the ambaſſadors repreſenting that he commenced hoſtilities without a previous declaration of war, he ſaid, "And do we not "know that you Spartans never declare beforehand what "meaſures you are going to take?" To which a Spartan named Mandricidas, who was in company, made anſwer in this laconic dialect, "If thou art a god, thou wilt do "us no harm, becauſe we have done thee none; if thou "art a man, perhaps we may find a better man than "thee."

In the mean time he moved towards Lacedæmon, and was adviſed by Cleonymus to give the aſſault immediately upon his arrival. But Pyrrhus, as we are told, fearing that his ſoldiers would plunder the city if they took it by night, put him off, and ſaid, they would proceed to the aſſault the next day. For he knew there were but few men within the city, and thoſe unprepared, by reaſon of his ſudden approach; and that Areus the king was abſent, being gone to Créte to ſuccor the Gortynians. The contemptible idea which Pyrrhus conceived of its weakneſs and want of men, was the principal thing that ſaved the city. For ſuppoſing that he ſhould not find the leaſt reſiſtance, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and ſat quietly down; while the *helots* and friends of Cleonymus buſied

themſelves in adorning and preparing his houſe, in expectation that Pyrrhus would ſup with him there that evening.

Night being come, the Lacedæmonians reſolved in the firſt place, to ſend off their women to Crete, but they ſtrongly oppoſed it; and Archidamia entering the ſenate with a ſword in her hand, complained of the mean opinion they entertained of the women, if they imagined they would ſurvive the deſtruction of Sparta. In the next place, they determined to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to ſink waggons into the ground as deep as the naves of the wheels, that ſo being firmly fixed, they might ſtop the courſe of the elephants. As ſoon as the work was begun, both matrons and maids came and joined them; the former with their robes tucked up, and the latter in their under garments only, to aſſiſt the older ſort of men. They adviſed thoſe that were intended for the fight, to repoſe themſelves, and in the mean time they undertook to finiſh a third part of the trench, which they effected before morning. This trench was in breadth ſix cubits, in depth four, and eight hundred feet long, according to Phylarchus. Hieronymus makes it leſs.

At daybreak the enemy was in motion, whereupon the women armed the youth with their own hands, and gave them the trench in charge, exhorting them to guard it well, and repreſenting, "How delightful it would be to "conquer in the view of their country, or how glorious "to expire in the arms of their mothers and their wives, "when they had met their deaths as became 'Spartans." As for Chelidonis, ſhe retired into her own apartment with a rope about her neck, determined to end her days by it, rather than fall into the hands of Cleonymus, if the city was taken.

Pyrrhus now preſſed forward with his infantry againſt the Spartans, who waited for him under a rampart of ſhields. But, beſide that the ditch was ſcarce paſſable, he found that there was no firm footing on the ſides of it for his ſoldiers, becauſe of the looſeneſs of the freſh earth. His ſon Ptolemy ſeeing this, fetched a compaſs about the trench with two thouſand Gauls and a ſelect body of Chaonians, and endeavored to open a paſſage on the quarter of the waggons. But theſe were ſo deep fixed and cloſe locked, that they not only obſtructed their paſſage, but made it difficult for the Spartans to come up and make a

cloſe defence. The Gauls were now beginning to drag out the wheels and draw the waggons into the river, when young Acrotatus perceiving the danger, traverſed the city with three hundred men, and by the advantage of ſome hollow ways ſurrounded Ptolemy, not being ſeen till he began the attack upon his rear. Ptolemy was now forced to face about, and ſtand upon the defenſive. In the confuſion many of his ſoldiers running foul upon each other, either tumbled into the ditch, or fell under the waggons. At laſt, after a long diſpute and great effuſion of blood, they were entirely routed. The old men and the women ſaw this exploit of Acrotatus; and as he returned through the city to his poſt, covered with blood, bold and elated with his victory, he appeared to the Spartan women taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not help envying Chelidonis ſuch a lover. Nay, ſome of the old men followed and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offspring be worthy of "Sparta!"

The diſpute was more obſtinate where Pyrrhus fought in perſon. Many of the Spartans diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the action, and, among the reſt, Phyllius made a glorious ſtand. He ſlew numbers that endeavored to force a paſſage, and when he found himſelf ready to faint with the many wounds he had received, he gave up his poſt to one of the officers that were near him, and retired to die in the midſt of his own party, that the enemy might not get his body in their power.

Night parted the combatants; and Pyrrhus, as he lay in his tent, had this dream; he thought he darted lightning upon Lacedæmon,* which ſet all the city on fire, and that the ſight filled him with joy. The tranſport awaking him, he ordered his officers to put their men under arms; and to ſome of his friends he related his viſion, from which he aſſured himſelf that he ſhould take the city by ſtorm. The thing was received with admiration and a general aſſent; but it did not pleaſe Lyſimachus. He ſaid, that, as no foot

* Some, inſtead of αυτος read αετος; and then the Engliſh will run thus; *He thought that an* eagle *darted lightning*, &c. But if that reading be preferred becauſe the eagle bore Jupiter's thunder, and Pyrrhus had the name of *eagle*, it ought to take place in the laſt member of the ſentence too, and that ſhould be rendered, *the eagle rejoiced at the fight.*

is to tread on places that are ſtruck by lightning, ſo the Deity by this might preſignify to Pyrrhus, that the city ſhould remain inacceſſible to him. Pyrrhus anſwered: "Theſe viſions may ſerve as amuſements for the vulgar, "but there is not any thing in the world more uncertain "and obſcure. While, then, you have your weapons in "your hands, remember, my friends,

The beſt of omens is the cauſe of Pyrrhus.*

So ſaying, he aroſe, and, as ſoon as it was light, renewed the attack. The Lacedæmonians ſtood upon their defence with an alacrity and ſpirit above their ſtrength; and the women attended, ſupplying them with arms, giving bread and drink to ſuch as wanted it, and taking care of the wounded. The Macedonians then attempted to fill up the ditch, bringing great quantities of materials, and throwing them upon the arms and bodies of the dead. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, redoubled their efforts againſt them. But all on a ſudden Pyrrhus appeared on their ſide of the trench, where the waggons had been planted to ſtop the paſſage, advancing at full ſpeed towards the city. The ſoldiers who had the charge of that poſt cried out, and the women fled with loud ſhrieks and wailings. In the mean time Pyrrhus was puſhing on, and overthrowing all that oppoſed him. But his horſe received a wound in the belly from a Cretan arrow, ran away, and, plunging in the pains of death, threw him upon ſteep and ſlippery ground. As his friends preſſed towards him in great confuſion, the Spartans came boldly up, and making good uſe of their arrows, drove them all back. Hereupon Pyrrhus put an entire ſtop to the action, thinking the Spartans would abate of their vigor, now they were almoſt all wounded, and ſuch great numbers killed. But the fortune of Sparta, whether ſhe was ſatisfied with the trial ſhe had of the unaſſiſted valor of her ſons, or whether ſhe was willing to ſhow her power to retrieve the moſt deſperate circumſtances, juſt as the hopes of the Spartans were beginning to expire, brought to their relief from Corinth Aminius the Phocean, one of Antigonus's officers, with an army of ſtrangers; and they had no ſooner entered the town, but Areus their king arrived from Crete with two

* Parody of a line in Hector's ſpeech, Il. xii.

thouſand men more. The women now retired immediately to their houſes, thinking it needleſs to concern themſelves any farther in the war; the old men too, who, notwithſtanding their age, had been forced to bear arms, were diſmiſſed, and the new ſupplies put in their place.

Theſe two reinforcements to Sparta ſerved only to animate the courage of Pyrrhus, and make him more ambitious to take the town. Finding, however, that he could effect nothing, after a ſeries of loſſes and ill ſucceſs he quitted the ſiege, and began to collect booty from the country, intending to paſs the winter there. But fate is unavoidable. There happened at that time a ſtrong contention at Argos, between the parties of Ariſteas and Ariſtippus; and as Ariſtippus appeared to have a connexion with Antigonus, Ariſteas, to prevent him, called in Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus whoſe hopes grew as faſt as they were cut off, who, if he met with ſucceſs, only conſidered it as a ſtep to greater things, and if with diſappointment, endeavored to compenſate it by ſome new advantage, would neither let his victories nor loſſes put a period to his diſturbing both the world and himſelf. He began his march therefore immediately for Argos. Areus, by frequent ambuſhes, and by poſſeſſing himſelf of the difficult paſſes, cut off many of the Gauls and Moloſſians who brought up his rear. In the ſacrifice which Pyrrhus had offered, the liver was found without a head, and the diviner had thence forewarned him, that he was in danger of loſing ſome perſon that was dear to him. But in the hurry and diſorder of this unexpected attack, he forgot the menace from the victim, and ordered his ſon Ptolemy with ſome of his guards to the aſſiſtance of the rear, whilſt he himſelf puſhed on, and diſengaged his main body from thoſe dangerous paſſages. In the mean time Ptolemy met with a very warm reception; for he was engaged by a ſelect party of Lacedæmonians, under the command of Evalcus. In the heat of action, a Cretan of Aptera, named Orœſus, a man of remarkable ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, came up with the young prince, as he was fighting with great gallantry, and with a blow on the ſide laid him dead upon the ſpot. As ſoon as he fell, his party turned their backs and fled. The Lacedæmonians purſued them, and in the ardor of victory, inſenſibly advancing into the open plain, got at a great diſtance from their infantry. Pyrrhus, who by this time had heard of the death of his ſon, and was

greatly afflicted at it, drew out his Moloſſian horſe, and charging at the head of them, ſatiated himſelf with the blood of the Lacedæmonians. He always indeed appeared great and invincible in arms, but now, in point of courage and force, he outdid all his former exploits. Having found out Evalcus, he ſpurred his horſe againſt him; but Evalcus inclining a little on one ſide, aimed a ſtroke at him which had like to have cut off his bridle hand. It happened, however, only to cut the reins, and Pyrrhus ſeizing the favorable moment, ran him through with his ſpear. Then ſpringing from his horſe, he fought on foot, and made a terrible havock of thoſe brave Lacedæmonians who endeavored to protect the body of Evalcus. The great loſs which Sparta ſuffered was now owing purely to the illtimed ambition of her leaders; for the war was at an end before the engagement.

Pyrrhus having thus ſacrificed to the manes of his ſon, and celebrated a kind of funeral games for him, found that he had vented much of his grief in the fury of the combat, and marched more compoſed to Argos. Finding that Antigonus kept the high grounds adjoining to the plain, he encamped near the town of Nauplia. Next day he ſent a herald to Antigonus, with a challenge in abuſive terms to come down into the field, and fight with him for the kingdom. Antigonus ſaid, "Time is the weapon that I uſe, "as much as the ſword; and if Pyrrhus is weary of his life, "there are many ways to end it." To both the kings there came ambaſſadors from Argos, entreating them to retire, and ſo prevent that city from being ſubjected to either, which had a friendſhip for them both. Antigonus agreed to the overture, and ſent his ſon to the Argives as an hoſtage. Pyrrhus at the ſame time promiſed to retire, but ſending no hoſtage, he was much ſuſpected.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, Pyrrhus was alarmed with a great and tremendous prodigy. For the heads of the ſacrifice oxen, when ſevered from the bodies, were ſeen to thruſt out their tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in Argos the prieſteſs of Apollo Lyceus ran about the ſtreets, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of dead carcaſes and blood, and an eagle joining in the fight, and then immediately vaniſhing.

In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding the gate called *Diamperes* opened to him by Ariſteas,

he was not discovered till his Gauls had entered and seized the marketplace. But the gate not being high enough to receive the elephants, they were forced to take off their towers; and having afterwards put them on again in the dark, it could not be done without noise and loss of time, by which means they were discovered. The Argives ran into the citadel called *Aspis*,* and other places of defence, and sent to call in Antigonus. But he only advanced towards the walls, to watch his opportunity for action, and contented himself with sending in some of his principal officers and his son with considerable succors.

At the same time Areus arrived in the town with a thousand Cretans and the most active of his Spartans. All these troops being joined, fell at once upon the Gauls, and put them in great disorder. Pyrrhus entered at a place called *Cylarabis*,† with great noise and loud shouts which were echoed by the Gauls; but he thought their shouts were neither full nor bold, but rather expressive of terror and distress. He therefore advanced in great haste, pushing forward his cavalry, though they marched in danger by reason of the drains and sewers of which the city was full. Besides, in this nocturnal war, it was impossible either to see what was done, or to hear the orders that were given. The soldiers were scattered about, and lost their way among the narrow streets; nor could the officers rally them in that darkness, amidst such a variety of noises, and in such strait passages; so that both sides continued without doing any thing, and waited for daylight.

At the first dawn Pyrrhus was concerned to see the Aspis full of armed men; but his concern was changed into consternation, when among the many figures in the market-

* There was an annual feast at Argos, in honor of Juno, called Ἡραῖα, *Junonia*, and also *Hecatombia*, from the hecatomb of oxen then offered. Among other games, this prize was proposed for the youth. In a place of considerable strength above the theatre, a brazen buckler was nailed to the wall and they were to try their strength in plucking it off. The victor was crowned with myrtle garland, and had the buckler [in Greek *Aspis*,] for his pains. Hence the name of the fort. Not only the youth of Argos, but strangers, were admitted to the contest; as appears from Pindar. For, speaking of Diagoras of Rhodes, he says,

"The Argive buckler knew him." *Olymp.* Ode 7.

† Cylarabis was a place of exercise near one of the gates of Argos. *Pausan.*

place he beheld a wolf and a bull in braſs repreſented in the act to fight. For he recollected an old oracle which had foretold, "That it was his deſtiny to die when he ſhould ſee "a wolf encountering a bull." The Argives ſay, theſe figures were erected in memory of an accident which happened among them long before. They tell us, that when Danaus firſt entered their country, as he paſſed though the diſtrict of Thyreatis, by the way of Pyramia which leads to Argos, he ſaw a wolf fighting with a bull. Danaus imagined that the wolf repreſented him, for being a ſtranger he came to attack the natives, as the wolf did the bull. He therefore ſtayed to ſee the iſſue of the fight, and the wolf proving victorious, he offered his devotions to Apollo Lyceus, and then aſſaulted and took the town; Gelanor, who was then king, being depoſed by a faction. Such is the hiſtory of thoſe figures.

Pyrrhus quite diſpirited at the fight, and perceiving at the ſame time that nothing ſucceeded according to his hopes, thought it beſt to retreat. Fearing that the gates were too narrow, he ſent orders to his ſon Helenus, who was left with the main body without the town, to demoliſh part of the wall, and aſſiſt the retreat, if the enemy tried to obſtruct it. But the perſon whom he ſent, miſtaking the order in the hurry and tumult, and delivering it quite in a contrary ſenſe, the young prince entered the gates with the reſt of the elephants and the beſt of his troops, and marched to aſſiſt his father. Pyrrhus was now retiring; and while the market place afforded room both to retreat and fight, he often faced about and repulſed the aſſailants. But when from that broad place he came to crowd into the narrow ſtreet leading to the gate, he fell in which thoſe who were advancing to his aſſiſtance. It was in vain to call out to them to fall back; there were but few that could hear him; and ſuch as did hear, and were moſt diſpoſed to obey his orders, were puſhed back by thoſe who came pouring in behind. Beſides, the largeſt of the elephants was fallen in the gateway on his ſide, and lying there and braying in a horrible manner, he ſtopped thoſe who would have got out. And among the elephants already in the town, one named Nicon, ſtriving to take up his maſter who was fallen off wounded, ruſhed againſt the party that was retreating; and overturned both friends and enemies promiſcuouſly, till he found the body. Then he took it up with his trunk,

and carrying it on his two teeth, returned in great fury, and trod down all before him. When they were thus preſſed and crowded together, not a man could do any thing ſingly, but the whole multitude, like one cloſe compacted body, rolled this way and that all together. They exchanged but few blows with the enemy either in front or rear, and the greateſt harm they did was to themſelves. For if any man drew his ſword or levelled his pike, he could not recover the one or put up the other; the next perſon, therefore, whoever he happened to be, was neceſſarily wounded, and thus many of them fell by the hands of each other.

Pyrrhus, ſeeing the tempeſt rolling about him, took off the plume with which his helmet was diſtinguiſhed, and gave it to one of his friends. Then truſting to the goodneſs of his horſe, he rode in amongſt the enemy who were haraſſing his rear; and it happened that he was wounded through the breaſtplate with a javelin. The wound was rather ſlight than dangerous, but he turned againſt the man that gave it, who was an Argive of no note, the ſon of a poor old woman. This woman, among others, looking upon the fight from the roof of a houſe beheld her ſon thus engaged. Seized with terror at the ſight, ſhe took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus. The tile fell upon his head, and notwithſtanding his helmet, cruſhed the lower *vertebræ* of his neck. Darkneſs, in a moment, covered his eyes, his hands let go the reins, and he fell from his horſe by the tomb of Licymnius.* The

* There is ſomething ſtrikingly contemptible in the fate of this ferocious warrior.—What reflections may it not afford to thoſe ſcourges of mankind, who, to extend their power and gratify their pride, tear out the vitals of human ſociety!—How unfortunate that they do not recollect their own perſonal inſignificance, and conſider while they are diſturbing the peace of the earth, that they are beings whom an old woman may kill with a ſtone!—It is impoſſible here to forget the obſcure fate of Charles the Twelfth, or the following verſes that deſcribe it:

On what foundation ſtands the warrior's pride,
How juſt his hopes, let Swediſh Charles decide;
A frame of adamant, a ſoul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labors tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquered lord of pleaſure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific ſceptres yield,
War ſounds the trump, he ruſhes to the field.

crowd that was about him, did not know him, but one Zopyrus who ſerved under Antigonus, and two or three others coming up, knew him, and dragged him into a porch that was at hand, juſt as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus had drawn his Illyrian blade to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus opened his eyes, and gave him ſo fierce a look, that he was ſtruck with terror. His hands trembled, and between his deſire to give the ſtroke, and the confuſion he was in, he miſſed his neck, but wounded him in the mouth and chin, ſo that it was a long time before he could ſeparate the head from the body.

By this time the thing was generally known, and Alcyoneus, the ſon of Antigonus, came haſtily up, and aſked for the head, as if he wanted only to look upon it. But as ſoon as he had got it, he rode off with it to his father, and caſt it at his feet as he was ſitting with his friends. Antigonus looking upon the head, and knowing it, thruſt his ſon from him; and ſtruck him with his ſtaff, calling him an impious and barbarous wretch. Then putting his robe before his eyes, he wept in remembrance of the fate of his grandfather

Behold ſurrounding kings their power combine,
And one capitulate and one reſign.
Peace courts his hand, but ſpreads her charms in vain;
"Think nothing gain'd," he cry'd, "till nought remain,
"On Moſcow's walls till Gothic ſtandards fly,
"And all be mine beneath the polar ſky."
The march begins in military ſtate,
And nations on his eye ſuſpended wait.
Stern famine guards the ſolitary coaſt,
And winter barricades the realm of froſt;
He comes—not want and cold his courſe delay——
Hide, bluſhing Glory, hide Pultowa's day!
The vanquiſh'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And ſhows his miſeries in diſtant lands.
Condemn'd a needy ſuppliant to wait,
While ladies interpoſe, and ſlaves debate.
But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no ſubverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hoſtile millions preſs him to the ground?
His fall was deſtin'd to a barren ſtrand,
A petty fortreſs, and a dubious hand.
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale!

Johnſon.

Antigonus,* and that of his father Demetrius, two inſtances in his own houſe of the mutability of fortune. As for the head and body of Pyrrhus, he ordered them to be laid in magnificent attire on the funeral pile and burnt. After this, Alcyoneus having met with Helenus in great diſtreſs and a mean garb, addreſſed him in a courteous manner, and conducted him to his father, who thus expreſſed himſelf on the occaſion: "In this, my ſon, you "have acted much better than before; but ſtill you are "deficient; for you ſhould have taken off that mean ha-"bit, which is a greater diſgrace to us who are victo-"rious, than it is to the vanquiſhed."

Then he paid his reſpects to Helenus in a very obliging manner, and ſent him to Epirus with a proper equipage. He gave alſo the ſame kind reception to the friends of Pyrrhus, after he had made himſelf maſter of his whole camp and army.

CAIUS MARIUS.

WE know no third name of Caius Marius, any more than we do of Quinctus Sertorius who held Spain ſo long, or of Lucius Mummius who took Corinth. For the ſurname of *Achaicus*, Mummius gained by his conqueſt, as Scipio did that of *Africanus*, and Metellus that of *Macedonicus*.—Poſidonius avails himſelf chiefly of this argument to confute thoſe who hold the third to be the Roman proper name, Camillus, for inſtance, Marcellus, Cato; for in that caſe, thoſe who had only two names, would have had no proper name at all. But he did not conſider that by this reaſoning he robbed the women of their names; for no woman bears the firſt, which Poſidonius ſuppoſed the proper name among the Romans. Of the other names, one was common to the whole family, as the Pompeii, Manlii, Cornelii, in the ſame manner as with us, the Heraclidæ and Pelopidæ; and the other was a ſurname given them from ſomething remarkable in their diſpoſitions, their actions, or the form of their bodies, as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which are like Mnemon, Grypus, and Caſſinicus,

* Antigonus the Firſt was killed at the battle of Ipſus, and Demetrius the Firſt long kept a priſoner by his ſon in law Seleucus.

among the Greeks. But the diverſity of cuſtoms, in this reſpect, leaves much room for farther inquiry.*

As to the figure of Marius, we have ſeen at Ravenna in Gaul his ſtatue in marble, which perfectly expreſſed all that has been ſaid of his ſternneſs and auſterity of behavior. For being naturally robuſt and warlike, and more acquainted with the diſcipline of the camp than the city, he was fierce and untractable when in authority. It is ſaid that he neither learnt to read Greek, nor would make uſe of that language on any ſerious occaſion, thinking it ridiculous to beſtow time on learning the language of a conquered people. And when, after his ſecond triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited ſhows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and ſat down, and then roſe up and departed immediately. Therefore, as Plato uſed to ſay to Xenocrates the philoſopher, who had a moroſe and unpoliſhed manner, "Good Xenocrates, "ſacrifice to the Graces;" ſo if any one could have perſuaded Marius to pay his court to the Grecian Muſes and Graces, he had never brought his noble achievements, both

* The Romans had uſually three names, the *Prænomen* the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Prænomen*, as Aulus, Caius, Decimus, was the proper or diſtinguiſhing name between brothers, during the time of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family name, anſwering to the Grecian patronymics. For, as among the Greeks, the poſterity of Æacus were called Æacidæ, ſo the Julian family had that name from Iulus or Aſcanius. But there were ſeveral other things which gave riſe to the *Nomen*, as animals, places, and accidents; for inſtance, Porcius, Ovilius, &c.

The *Cognomen* was originally intended to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral branches of a family. It was aſſumed from no certain cauſe, but generally from ſome particular occurrence. It became, however, hereditary, except it happened to be changed for a more honorable appellation, as Macedonicus, Africanus. But it ſhould be well remarked, that under the emperors the *Cognomen* was often uſed as a proper name, and brothers were diſtinguiſhed by it, as Titus Flavius Veſpaſianus, and Titus Flavius Sabinus.

As to women, they had anciently their *Prænomen* as well as the men, ſuch as Caia, Lucia, &c. But afterwards they ſeldom uſed any other beſides the family name, as Julia, Tullia, and the like. Where there were two ſiſters in a houſe, the diſtinguiſhing appellations were major and minor; if a greater number, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, &c.

With reſpect to the men who had only two names, a family might be ſo mean as not to have gained the *Cognomen*, or there might be ſo few of the family, that there was no occaſion for it to diſtinguiſh the branches.

in war and peace to ſo ſhocking a concluſion; he had never been led by unſeaſonable ambition and inſatiable avarice to ſplit upon the rocks of a ſavage and cruel old age. But this will ſoon appear from his actions themſelves.

His parents were obſcure and indigent people, who ſupported themſelves by labor; his father's name was the ſame with his; his mother was called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taſte of the refinements of the city. In the mean time he lived at Cirræatum,* a village in the territory of Arpinum; and his manner of living there was perfectly ruſtic, if compared with the elegance of poliſhed life; but at the ſame time it was temperate, and much reſembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his firſt campaign againſt the Celtiberians,† when Scipio Africanus beſieged Numantia. It did not eſcape his general how far he was above the other young ſoldiers in courage; nor how eaſily he came into the reformation in point of diet, which Scipio introduced into the army, before almoſt ruined by luxury and pleaſure. It is ſaid alſo, that he encountered and killed an enemy in the ſight of his general; who therefore diſtinguiſhed him with many marks of honor and reſpect, one of which was the inviting him to his table. One evening the converſation happening to turn upon the great commanders then in being, ſome perſon in the company, either out of complaiſance to Scipio, or becauſe he really wanted to be informed, aſked, "Where the Romans ſhould find ſuch another general when he was gone?" upon which Scipio putting his hand on the ſhoulder of Marius, who ſat next him, ſaid "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both thoſe great men, that the one, while but a youth, gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other from thoſe beginnings could diſcover the long ſeries of glory which was to follow.

This ſaying of Scipio's, we are told, raiſed the hopes of Marius, like a divine oracle, and was the chief thing that

* A corruption of *Cerretum*. Pliny tells us, the inhabitants of Cerretum were called *Mariani*, undoubtedly from Marius their townſman, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner. *Plin.* lib. iii. c. 5.

† In the third year of the hundred and ſixtyfirſt Olympiad, one hundred and thirtythree years before the birth of Chriſt.

animated him to apply himself to affairs of state. By the assistance of Cæcilius Metellus, on whose house he had an hereditary dependence, he has chosen a tribune of the people.* In this office he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to lessen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the consul, therefore, persuaded the senate to reject it, and to cite Marius, to give account of his conduct. Such a decree being made, Marius, when he entered the senate, showed not the embarrassment of a young man advanced to office, without having first distinguished himself, but assuming beforehand the elevation which his future actions were to give him, he threatened to send Cotta to prison, if he did not revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and asking his opinion, Metellus rose up, and voted with the consul.—Hereupon Marius called in a lictor, and ordered him to take Metellus into custody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but as not one of them lent him any assistance, the senate gave way, and repealed their decree. Marius highly distinguished by this victory, went immediatly from the senate to the *forum*, and had his law confirmed by the people.

From this time he passed for a man of inflexible resolution, not to be influenced by fear or respect of persons, and consequently one that would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges against the senate. But this opinion was soon altered by his taking quite a different part.—For a law being proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he strenuously opposed the plebeians, and carried it against them. By which action he gained equal esteem from both parties, as a person incapable of serving either against the public advantage.

When his tribuneship was expired, he stood candidate for the office of chief ædile. For there are two offices of *ædiles*; the one called *curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magistrate sits while he despatches business; the other of a degree much inferior, is called the *plebeian ædile*. The more honorable ædile is first chosen, and then the people proceed the same day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the first, he dropped his pretensions there, and immediately applied for the second. But as this proceeding of his be-

* One hundred and seventeen years before Christ.

trayed a diſagreeable and importunate obſtinacy, he miſcarried in that alſo. Yet though he was twice baffled in his application in one day (which never happened to any man but himſelf) he was not at all diſcouraged. For, not long after, he ſtood for the prætorſhip, and was near being rejected again. He was, indeed, returned laſt of all, and then was accuſed of bribery. What contributed moſt to the ſuſpicion, was, a ſervant of Caſſius Sabaco being ſeen within the rails, among the electors; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius. He was ſummoned, therefore, by the judges; and, being interrogated upon the point, he ſaid, "That the heat having made him very thirſty, he "aſked for cold water; upon which his ſervant brought "him a cup, and withdrew as ſoon as he had drank." Sabaco was expelled the ſenate by the next cenſors,* and it was thought he deſerved that mark of infamy, as having been guilty either of falſehood or intemperance. Caius Herennius was alſo cited as a witneſs againſt Marius; but he alleged, that it was not cuſtomary for patrons (ſo the Romans call protectors) to give evidence againſt their clients, and that the law excuſed them from that obligation. The judges were going to admit the plea, when Marius himſelf oppoſed it, and told Herennius, that when he was firſt created a magiſtrate, he ceaſed to be his client. But this was not altogether true. For it is not every office that frees clients and their poſterity from the ſervice due to their patrons, but only thoſe magiſtracies to which the law gives a *curule* chair. Marius, however, during the firſt days of trial, found that matters ran againſt him, his judges being very unfavorable; yet, at laſt, the votes proved equal, and he was acquitted beyond expectation.

In his prætorſhip he did nothing to raiſe him to diſtinction. But, at the expiration of this office, the Farther Spain falling to his lot, he is ſaid to have cleared it of robbers. That province as yet was uncivilized and ſavage in its manners, and the Spaniards thought there was nothing diſhonorable in robbery. At his return to Rome, he was deſirous to have his ſhare in the adminiſtration, but had neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him; though theſe were the inſtruments by which the great men of thoſe times governed the people. His high ſpirit, however, his

* Probably he had one of his ſlaves to vote among the freemen.

indefatigable induſtry, and plain manner of living, recommended him ſo effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices, and by offices power; ſo that he was thought worthy the alliance of the Cæſar's, and married Julia of that illuſtrious family. Cæſar, who afterwards raiſed himſelf to ſuch eminence, was her nephew, and, on account of his relation to Marius, ſhowed himſelf very ſolicitous for his honor, as we have related in his life.

Marius, along with his temperance, was poſſeſſed of great fortitude in enduring pain. There was an extraordinary proof of this, in his bearing an operation in ſurgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being troubled at the deformity, he determined to put himſelf in the hands of a ſurgeon. He would not be bound, but ſtretched out one of his legs to the knife; and without motion or groan, bore the inexpreſſible pain of the operation in ſilence, and with a ſettled countenance. But when the ſurgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not ſuffer him, ſaying, "I ſee the cure is not worth the "pain."

About this time Cæcilius Metellus the conſul,* being appointed to the chief command in the war againſt Jugurtha, took Marius with him into Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius now finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils, took no care, like his colleagues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, or to direct his views to his ſervice; but concluding, that he was called to the lieutenancy, not by Metellus, but by Fortune, who had opened him an eaſy way, and a noble theatre for great achievements, exerted all his powers. That war preſenting many critical occaſions, he neither declined the moſt difficult ſervice, nor thought the moſt ſervile beneath him. Thus ſurpaſſing his equals in prudence and foreſight, and conteſting it with the common ſoldiers in abſtemiouſneſs and labor, he entirely gained their affections. For it is no ſmall conſolation to any one who is obliged to work, to ſee another voluntarily take a ſhare in his labor; ſince it ſeems to take off the conſtraint. There is not, indeed, a more agreeable ſpectacle to a Roman ſoldier, than that of

* Q. Cæcilius Metellus was conſul with M. Junius Silanus, the fourth year of the one hundred and ſixtyſeventh Olympiad, a hundred and ſeven years before the birth of Chriſt. In this expedition he acquired the ſurname of Numidicus.

his general eating the ſame dry bread* which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or aſſiſting his men in drawing a trench or throwing up a bulwark. For the ſoldier does not ſo much admire thoſe officers who let him ſhare in their honors or their money, as thoſe who will partake with him in labor and danger; and he is more attached to one that will aſſiſt him in his work, than to one who will indulge him in idleneſs.

By theſe ſteps Marius gained the hearts of the ſoldiers; his glory, his influence, his reputation, ſpread through Africa, and extended even to Rome; the men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the war in thoſe parts, would be to elect Marius conſul. This occaſioned no ſmall anxiety to Metellus, but what diſtreſſed him moſt was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in that war in the character of maſter of the artificers,† but being, through his intereſt, appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants and the unſuſpecting openneſs of his conduct, gave them an opportunity of delivering up the place to Jugurtha.‡ Turpilius, however, ſuffered no injury in his perſon; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha to ſpare him, diſmiſſed him in ſafety. On this account he was accuſed of betray-

* Ἐν ὄψει which the Engliſh tranſlator renders *publicly*, and the French *à la vue de tout le monde*, is never to be met with in any good Greek author in that ſenſe. Indeed, the text plainly appears to be corrupted; for the word θεαμα, *ſpectacle*, juſt before, entirely precludes the expreſſion ἐν ὄψει *in ſight*. Bryan ſaw the corruption, and has propoſed to read ἀνευ ὄψου *without meat or ſauce*; but we ſhould rather chooſe to read ἀσιτον, becauſe the literal alteration will be the leſs. It certainly muſt be matter of great joy to the common ſoldier to ſee his general eat the ſame dry bread with him. Dacier, too, ſaw the corruption, and propoſed to read ἐν ὀξει *bread dipped in vinegar*. Here is, indeed, the change of one letter only; but the ſenſe does not ſeem to be ſo ſtrong. The learned reader will chooſe which emendation he pleaſes.

† The common reading is τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Τευτονων ἔργων μαχων— It is obvious that Τευτονων is a corruption of τεκτονων. An officer is meant like our comptroller of the board of works. Among Gruter's inſcriptions ſeveral perſons have the title of *Præfectus Fabrorum*.

‡ They put the Roman garriſon to the ſword, ſparing none but Turpilius.

ing the place. Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only ſevere upon him himſelf, but ſtirred up moſt of the other judges; ſo that it was carried againſt the opinion of Metellus, and much againſt his will he paſſed ſentence of death upon him. A little after, the accuſation appeared a falſe one; and all the other officers ſympathized with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with ſorrow; while Marius, far from diſſembling his joy, declared the thing was his doing, and was not aſhamed to acknowledge in all companies, "That he had lodged an avenging fury in "the breaſt of Metellus, who would not fail to puniſh him "for having put to death the hereditary friend of his fam-"ily."

They now became open enemies; and one day when Marius was by, we are told that Metellus ſaid by way of inſult, "You think then, my good friend, to leave us, and "go home to ſolicit the conſulſhip; would you not be "contented to ſtay and be conſul with this ſon of mine?" The ſon of Metellus was then very young. Notwithſtanding this, Marius ſtill kept applying for leave to be gone, and Metellus found out new pretences for delay. At laſt when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he diſmiſſed him. Marius had a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he deſpatched it in two days and a night. At his arrival on the coaſt, he offered ſacrifice before he embarked; and the diviner is ſaid to have told him, "That Heaven announced ſucceſs ſuperior to all his "hopes." Elevated with this promiſe, he ſet ſail, and, having a fair wind, croſſed the ſea in four days. The people immediately expreſſed their inclination for him; and being introduced by one of their tribunes, he brought many falſe charges againſt Metellus, in order to ſecure the conſulſhip for himſelf; promiſing at the ſame time either to kill Jugurtha or to take him alive.

He was elected with great applauſe, and immediately began his levies; in which he obſerved neither law nor cuſtom; for he enliſted many needy perſons, and even ſlaves.* The generals that were before him, had not admitted ſuch as theſe, but intruſted only perſons of property with arms, as with other honors, conſidering that property

* Florus does not ſay he enliſted ſlaves, but *capite cenſos*, ſuch as having no eſtates, had only their names entered in the regiſters.

as a pledge to the public for their behavior. Nor was this the only obnoxious thing in Marius. His bold ſpeeches accompanied with inſolence and ill manners, gave the patricians great uneaſineſs. For he ſcrupled not to ſay, "That "he had taken the conſulate as a prey from the effeminacy "of the high born and the rich, and that he boaſted to "the people of his own wounds, not the images of others "or monuments of the dead." He took frequent occaſion, too, to mention Beſtia and Albinus, generals who had been moſtly unfortunate in Africa, as men of illuſtrious families, but unfit for war, and conſequently unſucceſsful through want of capacity. Then he would aſk the people, "Whether they did not think that the anceſtors of thoſe "men would have wiſhed rather to leave a poſterity like "him; ſince they themſelves did not riſe to glory by their "high birth, but by their virtue and great actions." Theſe things he ſaid not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needleſsly to embroil himſelf with the nobility; but he ſaw the people took pleaſure in ſeeing the ſenate inſulted, and that they meaſured the greatneſs of a man's mind by the inſolence of his language; and therefore, to gratify them, he ſpared not the greateſt men in the ſtate.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and reſentment,* to think that when he had in a manner finiſhed the war, and there remained nothing to take but the perſon of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raiſed himſelf merely by his ingratitude towards *him*, ſhould come to ſnatch away both his victory and triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the ſight of him, he retired, and left his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius. But before the end of the war the divine vengeance overtook Marius; for Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had done Metellus. I ſhall briefly relate here the manner of that tranſaction, having already given a more particular account of it in the life of Sylla.

Bocchus king of the Upper Numidia,† was father in law to Jugurtha. He gave him, however, very little aſſiſtance

* The word φθονος does not always ſignify *envy*. In Philo *(De Murdo)* we find φθονος ουδεις διδασκειν, *docere non gravabimur*. Envy ſhould not be attributed to ſuch a noble mind as that of Metellus.

† Or Mauritania. In the original it is ὁ των ανω βαρβαρων βασιλευς, *king of the barbarians who dwelt higher up in the country.*

in the war, pretending that he deteſted his perfidiouſneſs, while he really dreaded the increaſe of his power. But when he became a fugitive and a wanderer, and was reduced to the neceſſity of applying to Bocchus as his laſt reſource, that prince received him rather as his ſuppliant, than as his ſon in law. When he had him in his hands, he proceeded in public to intercede with Marius in his behalf, alleging in his letters, that he would never give him up, but defend him to the laſt. At the ſame time in private intending to betray him, he ſent for Lucius Sylla, who was quæſtor to Marius, and had done Bocchus many ſervices during the war. When Sylla was come to him, confiding in his honor, the barbarian began to repent, and often changed his mind, deliberating for ſome days whether he ſhould deliver up Jugurtha, or retain Sylla too. At laſt adhering to the treachery he had firſt conceived, he put Jugurtha alive into the hands of Sylla.

Hence the firſt ſeeds of that violent and implacable quarrel, which almoſt ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy to Marius, were willing to attribute this ſucceſs to Sylla only; and Sylla himſelf cauſed a ſeal to be made, which repreſented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. This ſeal he always wore, and conſtantly ſealed his letters with it; by which he highly provoked Marius, who was naturally ambitious, and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was inſtigated to this by the enemies of Marius, who aſcribed the beginning and the moſt conſiderable actions of the war to Metellus, and the laſt and finiſhing ſtroke to Sylla; that ſo the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius as the moſt accompliſhed of commanders.

The danger, however, that approached Italy from the weſt, ſoon diſperſed all the envy, the hatred, and the calumnies, which had been raiſed againſt Marius. The people now in want of an experienced commander, and ſearching for an able pilot to ſit at the helm, that the commonwealth might bear up againſt ſo dreadful a ſtorm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would ſtand for the conſulſhip; and therefore they elected Marius,* though abſent. They had no ſooner received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were ſpread of an invaſion from

* One hundred and two years before Chriſt.

the Teutones and the Cimbri. And though the account of the number and ſtrength of their armies ſeemed at firſt incredible, it afterwards appeared ſhort of the truth. For three hundred thouſand well armed warriors were upon the march, and the women and children, whom they had along with them, were ſaid to be much more numerous. This vaſt multitude wanted lands on which they might ſubſiſt, and cities wherein to ſettle; as they had heard the Celtæ, before them, had expelled the Tuſcans, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt part of Italy.* As for theſe, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known who they were,† or whence they came, on account of the ſmall commerce which they had with the reſt of the world, and the length of way they had marched. It was conjectured, indeed, from the largeneſs of their ſtature, and the blueneſs of their eyes, as well as becauſe the Germans call banditti *Cimbri*, that they were ſome of thoſe German nations who dwell by the Northern Sea.

Some aſſert, that the country of the Celtæ is of ſuch vaſt extent, that it ſtretches from the Weſtern Ocean and moſt northern climes, to the lake Mæotis eaſtward, and that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus; that there the two nations mingle, and thence iſſue; not all at once, nor at all ſeaſons, but in the ſpring of every year; that, by means of theſe annual ſupplies, they had gradually opened themſelves a way over the greateſt part of the European continent: and that, though they are diſtinguiſhed by different names according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general name of Celto Scythæ.

Others ſay, they were a ſmall part of the Cimmerians; well known to the ancient Greeks; and that this ſmall part, quitting their native ſoil, or being expelled by the Scythians on account of ſome ſedition, paſſed from the Palus

* In the reign of Tarquinius Priſcus.

† The Cimbri were deſcended from the ancient Gomerians or Celtes; Cimri or Cymbri being only a harſher pronunciation of Gomeri. They were in all probability the ancienteſt people of Germany. They gave their name to the Cimbrica Cherſoneſus, which was a kind of peninſula extending from the mouth of the river Elbe into the north ſea. They were all ſuppoſed the ſame with the Cimmerians that inhabited the countries about the Palus Mæotis; which is highly probable, both from the likeneſs of their names, and from the deſcendants of Gomer having ſpread themſelves over all that northern tract.

Mæotis into Aſia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief. But that the greater and more warlike part dwelt in extremities of the earth near the Northern Sea. Theſe inhabit a country ſo dark and woody, that the ſun is ſeldom ſeen, by reaſon of the many high and ſpreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Hercynian foreſt. They are under that part of the heavens, where the elevation of the pole is ſuch, that by reaſon of the declination of the parallels, it makes almoſt a vertical point to the inhabitants; and their day and night are of ſuch a length, that they ſerve to divide the year into two equal parts; which gave occaſion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions.

Hence therefore theſe barbarians, who came into Italy, firſt iſſued; being anciently called Cimmerii, afterwards Cimbri, and the appellation was not at all from their manners. But theſe things reſt rather on conjecture, than hiſtorical certainty. Moſt hiſtorians, however, agree, that their numbers, inſtead of being leſs, were rather greater than we have related. As to their courage, their ſpirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impreſſion, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could reſiſt their impetuoſity; all that came in their way, were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many reſpectable armies and generals* employed by the Romans to guard the Tranſalpine Gaul, were ſhamefully routed; and the feeble reſiſtance they made to the firſt efforts of the barbarians, was the chief thing that drew them towards Rome. For, having beaten all they met, and loaded themſelves with plunder, they determined to ſettle no where, till they had deſtroyed Rome, and laid waſte all Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this news, called Marius to the command, and elected him a ſecond time conſul. It was, indeed, unconſtitutional for any one to be choſen who was abſent, or who had not waited the regular time between a firſt and ſecond conſulſhip; but the people overruled all that was ſaid againſt him. They conſidered, that this was not the firſt inſtance, in which the law had given way to the public utility; nor was the preſent occaſion leſs urgent than that, when contrary to

* Caſſius Longinus, Aurelius, Scaurus, Cæpio, and Cn. Mallius.

law,* they made Scipio conſul; for then they were not anxious for the ſafety of their own city, but only deſirous of deſtroying Carthage. Theſe reaſons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa, and entering upon his conſulſhip on the firſt of January, which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the ſame day. Jugurtha now a captive, was a ſpectacle as agreeable to the Romans, as it was beyond their expectation; no one having ever imagined that the war could be brought to a period while he was alive; ſo various was the character of that man, that he knew how to accommodate himſelf to all ſorts of fortune, and through all his ſubtlety there ran a vein of courage and ſpirit. It is ſaid, that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he loſt his ſenſes. After the triumph, he was thrown into priſon, where, whilſt they were in haſte to ſtrip him, ſome tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thruſt down naked into the dungeon, all wild and confuſed, he ſaid with a frantic ſmile,† "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There ſtruggling for ſix days with extreme hunger, and to the laſt hour laboring for the preſervation of life, he came to ſuch an end as his crimes deſerved. There were carried (we are told) in this triumph three thouſand and ſeven pounds of gold, five thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventyfive of ſilver bullion, and of ſilver coin ſeventeen thouſand and twentyeight drachmas.

After the ſolemnity was over, Marius aſſembled the ſenate in the capitol, where, either through inadvertency or groſs inſolence, he entered in his triumphal robe; but ſoon perceiving that the ſenate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

When he ſet out with the army, he trained his ſoldiers to labor while upon the road, accuſtoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his own victuals. So that afterwards laborious people who executed readily and without murmuring whatever they were ordered, were called

* Scipio was elected conſul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required in the candidates was fortytwo. Indeed, the people diſpenſed with it in other inſtances beſide this.

† The former Engliſh tranſlation takes no notice of διασιωπησας, *ſmiling*, though an important expreſſion.

Marius's mules. Some, indeed, give another reaſon for this proverbial ſaying. They ſay, that when Scipio beſieged Numantia, he choſe to inſpect, not only the arms and horſes, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readineſs and good order; on which occaſion Marius brought forth his horſe in fine condition, and his mule too in better caſe, and ſtronger and gentler than thoſe of others. The general, much pleaſed with Marius's beaſts, often made mention of them; and hence thoſe who by way of raillery praiſed a drudging patient man, called him Marius's mule.

On this occaſion, it was a very fortunate circumſtance for Marius, that the barbarians, turning their courſe, like a reflux of the tide, firſt invaded Spain. For this gave him time to ſtrengthen his men by exerciſe, and to raiſe and confirm their courage; and, what was ſtill of greater importance, to ſhow them what he himſelf was. His ſevere behavior, and inflexibility in puniſhing, when it had once accuſtomed them to mind their conduct and be obedient, appeared both juſt and ſalutary. When they were a little uſed to his hot and violent ſpirit, to the harſh tone of his voice, and the fierceneſs of his countenance, they no longer conſidered them as terrible to themſelves but to the enemy. Above all, the ſoldiers were charmed with his integrity in judging; and this contributed not a little to procure Marius a third conſulate. Beſides, the barbarians were expected in the ſpring, and the people were not willing to meet them under any other general. They did not, however, come ſo ſoon as they were looked for, and the year expired without his getting a ſight of them. The time of a new election coming on, and his colleague being dead, Marius left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and went himſelf to Rome. Several perſons of great merit ſtood for the conſulate; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who led the people, being gained by Marius, in all his ſpeeches exhorted them to chooſe him conſul. Marius, for his part, deſired to be excuſed, pretending that he did not want the office; whereupon Saturninus called him a traitor to his country, who deſerted the command in ſuch time of danger. It was not difficult to perceive that Marius diſſembled, and that the tribune acted a bungling part under him; yet the people conſidering that the preſent juncture required both his capacity and good fortune, created him conſul a fourth

time, and appointed Lutatius Catulus his colleague, a man much eſteemed by the patricians, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius being informed of the enemy's approach, paſſed the Alps with the utmoſt expedition; and having marked out his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it, and brought into it a large ſupply of proviſions; that the want of neceſſaries might never compel him to fight at a diſadvantage. But as the carriage of proviſions by ſea was tedious and very expenſive, he found a way to make it eaſy and expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choked up with mud and ſand, which the beating of the ſea had lodged there; ſo that it was very dangerous, if not impracticable, for veſſels of burden to enter it. Marius, therefore, ſet his army, now quite at leiſure, to work there; and having cauſed a cut to be made, capable of receiving large ſhips, he turned great part of the river into it; thus drawing it to a coaſt, where the opening to the ſea is eaſy and ſecure. This cut ſtill retains his name.

The barbarians dividing themſelves into two bodies, it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to march the upper way through Noricum againſt Catulus, and to force that paſs; while the Teutones and Ambrones took the road through Liguria along the ſea coaſt in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri ſpent ſome time in preparing for their march; but the Teutones and Ambrones ſet out immmediately, and puſhed forward with great expedition; ſo that they ſoon traverſed the intermediate country, and preſented to the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aſpect, and in their voice and ſhouts of war different from all other men. They ſpread themſelves over a vaſt extent of ground near Marius, and when they had encamped, they challenged him to battle.

The conſul, for his part, regarded them not, but kept his ſoldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and raſhneſs of thoſe who wanted to be in action, and calling them traitors to their country. He told them, "Their "ambition ſhould not now be for triumphs and trophies, "but to diſpel the dreadful ſtorm that hung over them, and "to ſave Italy from deſtruction." Theſe things he ſaid privately to his chief officers and men of the firſt rank. As for the common ſoldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, to accuſtom them to bear the

dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their ſavage voices without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their way of uſing them. By theſe means what at firſt was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become unaffecting. For he concluded that with regard to objects of terror, novelty adds many unreal circumſtances, and that things really dreadful loſe their effect by familiarity. Indeed, the daily fight of the barbarians not only leſſened the fears of the ſoldiers, but the menacing behavior and intolerable vanity of the enemy provoked their reſentment, and inflamed their courage. For they not only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the greateſt inſolence and contempt.

Marius at laſt was told, that the ſoldiers vented their grief in ſuch complaints as theſe: "What effeminacy has "Marius diſcovered in us, that he thus keeps us locked "up, like ſo many women, and reſtrains us from fighting? "Come on; let us with the ſpirit of freemen, aſk him, if "he waits for others to fight for the liberties of Rome, and "intends to make uſe of us only as the vileſt laborers, in "digging trenches, in carrying out loads of dirt, and turning the courſe of rivers? It is for ſuch noble works as "theſe, no doubt, that he exerciſes us in ſuch painful la"bors; and, when they are done, he will return and ſhow "his fellow citizens the glorious fruits of the continuation "of his power. It is true, Carbo and Cæpio were beaten "by the enemy; but does their ill ſucceſs terrify him? "Surely Carbo and Cæpio were generals as much inferi"or to Marius in valor and renown, as we are ſuperior to "the army they led. Better it were to be in action, though "we ſuffered from it like them, than to ſit ſtill and ſee the "deſtruction of our allies."

Marius, delighted with theſe ſpeeches, talked to them in a ſoothing way. He told them, "It was not from any diſ"truſt of them, that he ſat ſtill, but that, by order of certain "oracles, he waited both for the time and place which "were to enſure him the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman, named Martha, who was ſaid to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter with great reſpect and ſolemnity, and the ſacrifices he offered were all by her direction. She had formerly applied to the ſenate in this character, and made an offer of predicting for

them future events, but they refuſed to hear her. Then ſhe betook herſelf to the women, and gave them a ſpecimen of her art. She addreſſed herſelf particularly to the wife of Marius, at whoſe feet ſhe happened to ſit, when there was a combat of gladiators, and, fortunately enough, told her which of them would prove victorious. Marius's wife ſent her to her huſband, who received her with the utmoſt veneration, and provided for her the litter in which ſhe was generally carried. When ſhe went to ſacrifice, ſhe wore a purple robe, lined with the ſame, and buttoned up, and held in her hand a ſpear adorned with ribbands and garlands. When they ſaw this pompous ſcene, many doubted whether Marius was really perſuaded of her prophetic abilities, or only pretended to be ſo, and acted a part, while he ſhowed the woman in this form.

But what Alexander of Myndos relates concerning the vultures really deſerves admiration. Two of them, it ſeems, always appeared, and followed the army, before any great ſucceſs, being well known by their brazen collars. The ſoldiers, when they took them, had put theſe collars upon them, and then let them go. From this time they knew, and in a manner ſaluted the ſoldiers; and the ſoldiers, whenever theſe appeared upon their march, rejoiced in the aſſurance of performing ſomething extraordinary.

About this time, there happened many prodigies, moſt of them of the uſual kind. But news was brought from Ameria and Tudertum, cities in Italy, that one night there were ſeen in the ſky ſpears and ſhields of fire, now waving about, and then claſhing againſt each other, in imitation of the poſtures and motions of men fighting; and that one party giving way, and the other advancing, at laſt they all diſappeared in the weſt. Much about this time too, there arrived from Peſſinus, Batabaces, prieſt of the mother of the gods, with an account that the goddeſs had declared from her ſanctuary, "That the Romans would ſoon obtain a "great and glorious victory." The ſenate had given credit to his report, and decreed the goddeſs a temple on account of the victory. But when Batabaces went out to make the ſame declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius, one of the tribunes, prevented him, calling him an impoſtor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from the *roſtrum*. What followed, indeed, was the thing which contributed moſt to the credit of the prediction: For Aulus

had ſcarce diſſolved the aſſembly, and reached his own houſe, when he was ſeized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This was a fact univerſally known.

Marius ſtill keeping cloſe, the Teutones attempted to force his intrenchments; but being received with a ſhower of darts from the camp, by which they loſt a number of men, they reſolved to march forward, concluding that they might paſs the Alps in full ſecurity. They packed up their baggage, therefore, and marched by the Roman camp. Then it was that the immenſity of their numbers appeared in the cleareſt light, from the length of their train, and the time they took up in paſſing; for it is ſaid, that though they moved on without intermiſſion, they were ſix days in going by Marius's camp. Indeed, they went very near it, and aſked the Romans by way of inſult, "Whether they "had any commands to their wives, for they ſhould be "ſhortly with them?" As ſoon as the barbarians had all paſſed by, and were in full march, Marius likewiſe decamped, and followed; always taking care to keep near them, and chooſing ſtrong places at ſome ſmall diſtance for his camp, which he alſo fortified, in order that he might paſs the nights in ſafety. Thus they moved on till they came to Aquæ Sextiæ, from whence there is but a ſhort march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle; having pitched upon a place for his camp, which was unexceptionable in point of ſtrength, but afforded little water. By this circumſtance, they tell us, he wanted to excite the ſoldiers to action; and when many of them complained of thirſt, he pointed to a river which ran cloſe by the enemy's camp, and told them, "That thence they muſt purchaſe water with "their blood." "Why then," ſaid they, "do you not lead "us thither immediately, before our blood is quite parched "up?" To which he anſwered in a ſofter tone, "I will "lead you thither, but firſt let us fortify our camp."

The ſoldiers obeyed, though with ſome reluctance. But the ſervants of the army, being in great want of water both for themſelves and their cattle, ran in crowds to the ſtream, ſome with pickaxes, ſome with hatchets, and others with ſwords and javelins, along with their pitchers; for they were reſolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. Theſe at firſt were encountered by a ſmall party of the enemy, when ſome having bathed, were en-

gaged at dinner, and others were ſtill bathing. For there the country abounds in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themſelves in thoſe delicious baths, and charmed with the ſweetneſs of the place. The cry of theſe brought others to their aſſiſtance, ſo that it was now difficult for Marius to reſtrain the impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, who were in pain for their ſervants. Beſides, the Ambrones, to the number of thirty thouſand, who were the beſt troops the enemy had, and who had already defeated Manlius and Cæpio, were drawn out, and ſtood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themſelves with eating, yet the wine they had drank had given them freſh ſpirits; and they advanced, not in a wild and diſorderly manner, or with a confuſed and inarticulate noiſe; but beating their arms at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, they came on, crying out, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The Ligurians were the firſt of the Italians that moved againſt them; and when they heard the enemy cry Ambrones, they echoed back the word, which was indeed their own ancient name. Thus the ſhout was often returned from one army to the other before they charged, and the officers on both ſides joining in it, and ſtriving which ſhould pronounce the word loudeſt, added by this means to the courage and impetuoſity of their troops.

The Ambrones were obliged to paſs the river, and this broke their order; ſo that, before they could form again, the Ligurians charged the foremoſt of them, and thus began the battle. The Romans came to ſupport the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground, preſſed the enemy ſo hard, that they ſoon put them in diſorder. Many of them joſtling each other on the banks of the river, were ſlain there, and the river itſelf was filled with dead bodies. Thoſe who were got ſafe over not daring to make head, were cut off by the Romans, as they fled to their camp and carriages. There the women meeting them with ſwords and axes, and ſetting up a horrid and hideous cry, fell upon the fugitives, as well as the purſuers, the former as traitors, and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they laid hold on the Roman ſhields, catched at their ſwords with their naked hands, and obſtinately ſuffered themſelves

to be hacked to pieces. Thus the battle is ſaid to have been fought on the banks of the river, rather by accident, than any deſign of the general.

The Romans, after having deſtroyed ſo many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not reſound with ſongs of victory, as might have been expected upon ſuch ſucceſs. There were no entertainments, no mirth in the tents, nor, what is the moſt agreeable circumſtance to the ſoldier after victory, any ſound and refreſhing ſleep. The night was paſſed in the greateſt dread and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many miriads of the barbarians unconquered; and ſuch of the Ambrones as eſcaped, mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the ſighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beaſts. As this proceeded from ſuch an innumerable hoſt, the neighboring mountains and the hollow banks of the river returned the ſound, and the horrid din filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impreſſions of terror, and Marius himſelf was filled with aſtoniſhment at the apprehenſions of a tumultuous night engagement. However, the barbarians did not attack them, either that night or next day, but ſpent the time in conſulting how to diſpoſe and draw themſelves up to the beſt advantage.

In the mean time Marius obſerving the ſloping hills and woody hollows, that hung over the enemy's camp, deſpatched Claudius Marcellus with three thouſand men, to lie in ambuſh there till the fight was begun, and then to fall upon the enemy's rear. The reſt of his troops he ordered to ſup and go to reſt in good time. Next morning, as ſoon as it was light, he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones ſeeing this, could not contain themſelves, nor ſtay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might fight them upon equal terms; but arming haſtily through thirſt of vengeance, advanced up to the hill. Marius deſpatched his officers through the whole army, with orders that they ſhould ſtand ſtill and wait for the enemy. When the barbarians were within reach, the Romans were to throw their javelins, then come to ſword in hand, and preſſing upon them with their ſhields, puſh them with all their force. For he knew the place was ſo ſlippery, that the enemy's blows could have no great

weight, nor could they preſerve any cloſe order, where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poiſe. At the ſame time that he gave theſe directions, he was the firſt that ſet the example. For he was inferior to none in perſonal agility, and in reſolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans by their firmneſs and united charge kept the barbarians from aſcending the hill, and by little and little forced them down into the plain. There the foremoſt battalions were beginning to form again, when the utmoſt confuſion diſcovered itſelf in the rear. For Marcellus, who had watched his opportunity, as ſoon as he found, by the noiſe which reached the hills where he lay, that the battle was begun, with great impetuoſity and loud ſhouts fell upon the enemy's rear and deſtroyed a conſiderable number of them. The hindmoſt being puſhed upon thoſe before, the whole army was ſoon put in diſorder. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not ſtand the double ſhock, but forſook their ranks, and fled.* The Romans purſuing, either killed or took priſoners above an hundred thouſand, and having made themſelves maſters of their tents, carriages, and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered, a preſent to Marius. This indeed was a noble recompenſe, yet it was thought very inadequate to the generalſhip he had ſhown in that great and imminent danger.†

Other hiſtorians give a different account, both of the diſpoſition of the ſpoils, and the number of the ſlain. From theſe writers we learn, that the Maſſilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found in the field; and that the rain which fell the winter following, ſoaking in the moiſture of the putrified bodies, the ground was ſo enriched by it, that it produced the next ſeaſon a prodigious crop. Thus the opinion of Archilochus is confirmed, that *fields are fattened with blood.* It is obſerved indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles; whether it be, that ſome deity chooſes to waſh and purify the

* This victory was gained the ſecond year of the hundred and ſixtyninth Olympiad, before Chriſt one hundred.

† And yet there does not appear any thing very extraordinary in the generalſhip of Marius on this occaſion. The ignorance and raſhneſs of the barbarians did every thing in his favor. The Teutones left the battle, as Hawley loſt it at Falkirk, by attempting the hills.

earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moiſt and heavy vapors they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the ſmalleſt cauſe.

After the battle, Marius ſelected from among the arms and other ſpoils, ſuch as were elegant and entire, and likely to make the greateſt ſhow in his triumph. The reſt he piled together, and offered them as a ſplendid ſacrifice to the gods. The army ſtood round the pile crowned with laurel; and himſelf arrayed in his purple robe,* and girt after the manner of the Romans, took a lighted torch. He had juſt lifted it up with both hands towards heaven, and was going to ſet fire to the pile, when ſome friends were ſeen galloping towards him. Great ſilence and expectation followed. When they were come near, they leaped from their horſes, and ſaluted Marius conſul the fifth time, delivering him letters to the ſame purpoſe. This added great joy to the ſolemnity, which the ſoldiers expreſſed by acclamations and by clanking their arms; and while the officers were preſenting Marius with new crowns of laurel, he ſet fire to the pile, and finiſhed the ſacrifice.

But whatever it is that will not permit us to enjoy any great proſperity pure and unmixed, but chequers human life with a variety of good and evil; whether it be fortune, or ſome chaſtiſing deity, or neceſſity and the nature of things; a few days after this joyful ſolemnity, the ſad news was brought to Marius of what had befallen his colleague Catulus. An event, which, like the cloud in the midſt of a calm, brought freſh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with another tempeſt. Catulus, who had the Cimbri to oppoſe, came to a reſolution to give up the defence of the heights, leſt he ſhould weaken himſelf by being obliged to divide his forces into many parts. He therefore deſcended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and poſted his army behind the river Atheſis;† where he blocked up the fords with ſtrong fortifications on both ſides, and threw a bridge over it; that ſo he might be in a condition to ſuccor the garriſons beyond it, if the barbarians ſhould make their way through the narrow paſſes of the mountains, and attempt to ſtorm them. The barbarians held their enemies in ſuch contempt,

* Ipſe quirinali trabea, cinctuque Gabino inſignis.
Virg. Æneid. 7.

† Now the Adige.

and came on with so much insolence, that, rather to show their strength and courage, than out of any necessity, they exposed themselves naked to the showers of snow; and, having pushed through the ice and deep drifts of snow to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them, and so slid down, in spite of the broken rocks and vast slippery descents.

When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. Then they tore up the neighboring hills, like the giants of old; they pulled up trees by the roots; they broke off massy rocks, and rolled in huge heaps of earth. These were to dam up the current. Other bulky materials besides these, were thrown in, to force away the bridge, which being carried down the stream with great violence, beat against the timber, and shook the foundation. At the sight of this the Roman soldiers were struck with terror, and great part of them quitted the camp and drew back. On this occasion Catulus, like an able and excellent general, showed that he preferred the glory of his country to his own. For when he found that he could not persuade his men to keep their post, and that they were deserting it in a very dastardly manner, he ordered his standard to be taken up, and running to the foremost of the fugitives, led them on himself; choosing rather that the disgrace should fall upon him than upon his country, and that his soldiers should not seem to fly, but to follow their general.

The barbarians now assaulted and took the fortress on the other side of the Athesis; but admiring the bravery of the garrison, who had behaved in a manner suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them swear to them upon a brazen bull. In the battle that followed, this bull was taken among the spoils, and is said to have been carried to Catulus's house, as the first fruits of the victory. The country at present being without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

Hereupon Marius was called home. When he arrived, every one expected that he would triumph, and the senate readily passed a decree for that purpose. However, he declined it; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had shared in the danger of their part of the honor, or that, to encourage the people in the pres-

ent extremity, he choſe to entruſt the glory of his former achievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it reſtored to him with intereſt upon his next ſucceſs. Having made an oration ſuitable to the time, he went to join Catulus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then ſent for his army out of Gaul; and when it was arrived, he croſſed the Po, with a deſign to keep the barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, on pretence that they expected the Teutones, and that they wondered at their delay; either being really ignorant of their fate, or chooſing to ſeem ſo. For they puniſhed thoſe who brought them that account with ſtripes; and ſent to aſk Marius for lands and cities, ſufficient both for them and their brethren. When Marius inquired of the ambaſſadors who their brethren were, they told him the Teutones. The aſſembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner: "Do not trouble "yourſelves about your brethren; for they have land "enough, which we have already given them, and they "ſhall have it for ever." The ambaſſadors perceiving the irony, anſwered in ſharp and ſcurrilous terms, aſſuring him, "That the Cimbri would chaſtiſe him immediately "and the Teutones when they came." "And they are "not far off," ſaid Marius; "it will be very unkind, "therefore, in you to go away without ſaluting your brethren." At the ſame time he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains; for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavoring to eſcape over the Alps.

As ſoon as the ambaſſadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had paſſed, they marched directly againſt Marius, who at that time lay ſtill, and kept within his trenches. It is reported, that on this occaſion he contrived a new form for the javelins. Till then they uſed to faſten the ſhaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius now letting one of them remain as it was, had the other taken out, and a weak wooden peg put in its place. By this contrivance he intended, that when the javelin ſtuck in the enemy's ſhield, it ſhould not ſtand right out; but that, the wooden peg breaking, and the iron pin bending, the ſhaft of the weapon ſhould be dragged upon the ground, while the point ſtuck faſt in the ſhield.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came now with a ſmall party of horſe to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they ſhould meet and decide it by arms, to whom the country ſhould belong. Marius anſwered: "That the Romans never conſulted their enemies when to fight; however, he would "indulge the Cimbri in this point." Accordingly they agreed to fight the third day after, and that the plain of Vercellæ ſhould be the field of battle, which was fit for the Roman cavalry to act in, and convenient for the barbarians to diſplay their numbers.

Both parties kept their day and drew up their forces over againſt each other. Catulus had under his command twenty thouſand and three hundred men: Marius had thirtytwo thouſand. The latter were drawn up in the two wings, and Catulus was in the centre. Sylla, who was preſent in the battle, gives us this account; and it is reported, that Marius made this diſpoſition, in hopes of breaking the Cimbrian battalions with the wings only, and ſecuring to himſelf and his ſoldiers the honor of the victory, before Catulus could have opportunity to come up to the charge; it being uſual, in a large front, for the wings to advance before the main body. This is confirmed by the defence which Catulus made of his own behavior, in which he inſiſted much on the malignant deſigns of Marius againſt him.

The Cimbrian infantry marched out of their trenches without noiſe, and formed ſo as to have their flanks equal to their front; each ſide of the ſquare extending to thirty furlongs. Their cavalry, to the number of fifteen thouſand, iſſued forth in great ſplendor. Their helmets repreſented the heads, and open jaws of ſtrange and frightful wild beaſts;* on theſe were fixed high plumes,† which made the men appear taller. Their breaſtplates were of poliſhed iron, and their ſhields were white and glittering. Each man had two edged darts to fight with at a diſtance, and when they came hand to hand, they uſed broad and heavy ſwords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right, they

* Προτομη ſignifies the buſt or head either of man or animal.

† Λοφος πτερωτος, *or a tuft in the form of a wing*, is literally *a plume of feathers.*

endeavored by little and little to encloſe the enemy between them and their infantry, who were poſted on the left. The Roman generals perceived their artful deſign, but were not able to reſtrain their own men. One happened to cry out, that the enemy fled, and they all ſet off upon the purſuit. In the mean time, the barbarian foot came on like a vaſt ſea. Marius having purified, lifted his hands towards heaven, and vowed an hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus, in the ſame poſture, promiſed to conſecrate a temple to the fortune of that day. As Marius ſacrificed on this occaſion, it is ſaid that the entrails were no ſooner ſhown him, than he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine."

However, when the battle was joined, an accident happened, which, as Sylla writes,* appeared to be intended by heaven to humble Marius. A prodigious duſt, it ſeems, aroſe, which hid both armies. Marius moving firſt to the charge, had the misfortune to miſs the enemy; and having paſſed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the mean time, the good fortune of Catulus directed the enemy to him, and it was his legions (in which Sylla tells us he fought) to whoſe lot the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the ſun which ſhone full in the faces of the Cimbri, fought for the Romans. Thoſe barbarians, being bred in ſhady and frozen countries, could bear the ſevereſt cold, but were not proof againſt heat. Their bodies ſoon ran down with ſweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold up their ſhields to ſhade their faces. Indeed, this battle was fought not long after the ſummer ſolſtice, and the Romans keep a feſtival for it on the third day of the kalends of Auguſt, then called Sextilis. The duſt, too, which hid the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For, as they could have no diſtinct view of the vaſt numbers of their antagoniſts, they ran to the charge, and were come to cloſe engagement before the ſight of ſuch multitudes could give them any impreſſions of terror. Beſides, the Romans were ſo ſtrengthened by labor and exerciſe, that not one of them was obſerved to ſweat or be out of breath, notwithſtanding the ſuffocating heat and the violence of the

* It is a misfortune, that Catulus's Hiſtory of his Conſulſhip, and a greater, that Sylla's Commentaries are loſt.

encounter. So Catulus himſelf is ſaid to have written, in commendation of his ſoldiers.

The greateſt and beſt part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the ſpot; thoſe who fought in the front faſtened themſelves together, by long cords run through their belts,* to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives to their camp, where they found the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle. The women ſtanding in mourning by their carriages, killed thoſe that fled; ſome their huſbands, ſome their brothers, others their fathers. They ſtrangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them under the wheels and horſes feet. Laſt of all, they killed themſelves. They tell us of one that was ſeen flung from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging at each heel. The men, for want of trees, tied themſelves by the neck, ſome to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them on; that by the ſtarting of the beaſts they might be ſtrangled or torn to pieces. But though they were ſo induſtrious to deſtroy themſelves, above ſixty thouſand were taken priſoners, and the killed were ſaid to have been twice that number.

Marius's ſoldiers plundered the baggage; but the other ſpoils, with the enſigns and trumpets, they tell us, were brought to the camp of Catulus; and he availed himſelf chiefly of this, as a proof that the victory belonged to him. A hot diſpute, it ſeems, aroſe between his troops and thoſe of Marius which had the beſt claim; and the ambaſſadors from Parma, who happened to be there, were choſen arbitrators. Catulus's ſoldiers led them to the field of battle to ſee the dead, and clearly proved that they were killed by their javelins, becauſe Catulus had taken care to have the ſhafts inſcribed with his name. Nevertheleſs, the whole honor of the day was aſcribed to Marius, on account of his former victory, and his preſent authority. Nay, ſuch was the applauſe of the populace, that they called him *the third founder of* Rome, as having reſcued her from a danger not leſs dreadful than that from the Gauls. In their rejoicings at home with their wives and children, at ſupper they offered libations to Marius along with the gods, and would have given him alone the honor of both triumphs.

* This was an abſurd contrivance to keep their ranks. But they intended alſo to have bound their priſoners with the cords after the battle.

He declined this indeed, and triumphed with Catulus, being desirous to show his moderation after such extraordinary instances of success. Or perhaps he was afraid of some opposition from Catulus's soldiers, who might not have suffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his share of the honor.

In this manner his fifth consulate was passed. And now he aspired to a sixth, with more ardor than any man had ever shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavored to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them by such servile condescensions, as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance, for which nature never meant him. It is said, that in civil affairs and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or dislike disconcerted him in his address. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distinguished themselves by their behavior in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary to law, he said, "The law spoke "too softly to be heard amidst the din of arms." However, the noise that he dreaded, and that robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In war he easily obtained the highest rank, because they could not do without him; but in the administration he was sometimes in danger of losing the honors he solicited. In these cases he had recourse to the partiality of the multitude; and had no scruple of making his honesty subservient to his ambition.

By these means he made himself obnoxous to all the patricians. But he was most afraid of Metellus, whom he had treated with ingratitude. Besides, Metellus was a man, who, from a spirit of true virtue, was naturally an enemy to those who endeavored to gain the populace by evil arts, and directed all their measures to please them. Marius, therefore, was very desirous to get him out of the way. For this purpose he associated with Glaucias and Saturninus, two of the most daring and turbulent men in Rome, who had the indigent and seditious part of the people at their command. By their assistance he got several laws enacted;

had having planted many of his ſoldiers in the aſſemblies, his faction prevailed, and Metellus was overborne.

Rutilius,* in other reſpects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced againſt Marius, tells us, he obtained his ſixth conſulate by large ſums which he diſtributed among the tribes, and having thrown out Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus, rather his ſervant than his colleague. The people had never before beſtowed ſo many conſulates on any one man, except Valerius Corvinus.† And there was this great difference, that between the firſt and ſixth conſulate of Corvinus there was an interval of fortyfive years; whereas Marius, after his firſt, was carried through five more without interruption, by one tide of fortune.

In the laſt of theſe, he expoſed himſelf to much hatred, by abetting Saturninus in all his crimes; particularly in his murder of Nonius, whom he ſlew becauſe he was his competitor for the tribuneſhip. Saturninus, being appointed tribune of the people, propoſed an agrarian law, in which there was a clauſe expreſsly providing, "That "the ſenate ſhould come and ſwear in full aſſembly, to "confirm whatever the people ſhould decree, and not "oppoſe them in any thing." Marius in the ſenate pretended to declare againſt this clauſe, aſſerting that, "He "would never take ſuch an oath, and that he believed no "wiſe man would. For ſuppoſing the law not a bad one, "it would be a diſgrace to the ſenate to be compelled to "give ſanction to a thing, which they ſhould be brought "to only by choice or perſuaſion."

Theſe, however, were not his real ſentiments; but he was laying for Metellus an unavoidable ſnare. As to himſelf, he reckoned that a great part of virtue and prudence conſiſted in diſſimulation, therefore he made but ſmall account of his declaration in the ſenate. At the ſame time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmneſs,

* P. Rutilius Rufus was conſul the year before the ſecond conſulſhip of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman hiſtory in Greek. Cicero mentions him on ſeveral occaſions, as a man of honor and probity. He was exiled ſix or ſeven years after this ſixth conſulſhip of Marius. Sylla would have recalled him, but he refuſed to return.

† Valerius Corvinus was elected conſul, when he was only twentythree years of age, in the year of Rome four hundred and ſix; and he was appointed conſul the ſixth time in the year of Rome four hundred and fiftytwo.

who, with Pindar, esteemed *truth the spring of heroic virtue*, he hoped, by refusing the oath himself, to draw in him to refuse it too; which would infallibly expose him to the implacable resentment of the people. The event answered his expectation. Upon Metellus's declaring that he would not take the oath, the senate was dismissed. A few days after, Saturninus summoned the fathers to appear in the *forum*, and swear to that article, and Marius made his appearance among the rest. A profound silence ensued, and all eyes were fixed upon him, when bidding adieu to the fine things he had said in the senate, he told the audience, "That he was not so opinionated, as to pretend absolutely "to prejudge a matter of such importance, and therefore "he would take the oath, and keep the law too, provided "it was a law." This proviso he added, merely to give a color to his impudence, and was sworn immediately.*

The people, charmed with his compliance, expressed their sense of it in loud acclamations; while the patricians were abashed, and held his double dealing in the highest detestation. Intimidated by the people, they took the oath, however, in their order, till it came to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and entreated him to be conformable, and not expose himself to those dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for such as refused, shrunk not from the dignity of his resolution, nor took the oath. That great man abode by his principles; he was ready to suffer the greatest calamities, rather than do a dishonorable thing; and as he quitted the *forum*, he said to those about him, "To do an ill action, is base; to do a "good one, which involves you in no danger, is nothing "more than common; but it is the property of a good "man, to do great and good things, though he risks "every thing by it."

Saturninus then caused a decree to be made, that the consuls should declare Metellus a person interdicted the use

* Thus Marius made the first step towards the ruin of the Roman constitution, which happened not long after. If the senate were to swear to confirm whatever the people should decree whether bad or good, they ceased to have a weight in the scale, and the government became a democracy. And as the people grew so corrupt as to take the highest price that was offered them, absolute power must be advancing with hasty strides. Indeed a nation which has no principle of public virtue left, is not fit to be governed by any other.

of fire and water, whom no man ſhould admit into his houſe. And the meaneſt of the people adhering to that party, were ready even to aſſaſſinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themſelves on his ſide; but he would ſuffer no ſedition on his account. Inſtead of that, he adopted a wiſe meaſure, which was to leave the city. "For," ſaid he, "either matters will take a better "turn, and the people repent, and recal me; or if they "remain the ſame, it will be beſt to be at a diſtance from "Rome." What regard and what honors were paid Metellus during his baniſhment, and how he lived at Rhodes in the ſtudy of philoſophy, it will be more convenient to mention in his life.

Marius was ſo highly obliged to Saturninus for this laſt piece of ſervice, that he was forced to connive at him, though he now ran out into every act of inſolence and outrage. He did not conſider that he was giving the reins to a deſtroying fury, who was making his way in blood to abſolute power and the ſubverſion of the ſtate. All this while Marius was deſirous to keep fair with the nobility, and at the ſame time to retain the good graces of the people; and this led him to act a part, than which nothing can be conceived more ungenerous and deceitful. One night ſome of the firſt men in the ſtate came to his houſe, and preſſed him to declare againſt Saturninus; but at that very time he let in Saturninus at another door unknown to them. Then pretending a diſorder in his bowels, he went from one party to the other; and this trick he played ſeveral times over, ſtill exaſperating both againſt each other. At laſt the ſenate and the equeſtrian order roſe in a body, and expreſſed their indignation in ſuch ſtrong terms, that he was obliged to ſend a party of ſoldiers into the *forum*, to ſuppreſs the ſedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the reſt of the cabal, fled into the capitol. There they were beſieged, and at laſt forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and ſurrendered themſelves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to ſave them, but nothing would avail; they no ſooner came down into the *forum*, than they were all put to the ſword.* He was now become equally odious both to the nobility and the commons, ſo that when

* The people diſpatched them with clubs and ſtones.

the time for the election of cenſors came on, contrary to expectation, he declined offering himſelf, and permitted others of leſs note to be choſen. But though it was his fear of a repulſe that made him ſit ſtill, he gave it another color; pretending he did not chooſe to make himſelf obnoxious to the people, by a ſevere inſpection into their lives and manners.

An edict was now propoſed for the recal of Metellus. Marius oppoſed it with all his power; but finding his endeavors fruitleſs, he gave up the point, and the people paſſed the bill with pleaſure. Unable to bear the ſight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering ſome ſacrifices which he had vowed to the mother of the gods. But he had another reaſon which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unverſed in political knowledge, he ſaw that all his greatneſs aroſe from war, and that in a ſtate of inaction its luſtre began to fade. He, therefore, ſtudied to raiſe new commotions. If he could but ſtir up the Aſiatic kings, and particularly Mithridates, who ſeemed moſt inclined to quarrel, he hoped ſoon to be appointed general againſt him, and to have an opportunity to fill the city with new triumphs, as well as to enrich his own houſe with the ſpoils of Pontus and the wealth of its monarch. For this reaſon, though Mithridates treated him in the politeſt and moſt reſpectful manner, he was not in the leaſt mollified, but addreſſed him in the following terms:—"Mithridates, your buſineſs is, either to "render yourſelf more powerful than the Romans, or to "ſubmit quietly to their commands." The king was quite amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of ſpeech that prevailed among the Romans, but that was the firſt time he experienced it.

At his return to Rome, he built a houſe near the *forum*; either for the convenience of thoſe who wanted to wait on him, which was the reaſon he aſſigned; or becauſe he hoped to have a greater concourſe of people at his gates. In this, however, he was miſtaken. He had not thoſe graces of converſation, that engaging addreſs, which others were maſters of; and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. He was not ſo much concerned at the preference given to others, but that which Sylla had gained, afflicted him exceedingly; becauſe he

was rising by means of the envy which the patricians bore *him*, and his first step to the administration was a quarrel with him. But when Bocchus, king of Numidia, now declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the capitol some figures of victory adorned with trophies, and placed by them a set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, Marius was almost distracted. He considered this as an act by which Sylla wanted to rob him of the glory of his achievements, and prepared to demolish these monuments by force. Sylla, on his part, as strenuously opposed him.

This sedition was just upon the point of flaming out, when the *war of the allies* intervened,* and put a stop to it. The most warlike and most populous nations of Italy conspired against Rome, and were not far from subverting the empire. Their strength consisted not only in the weapons and valor of their soldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were not inferior to those of Rome.

This war, so remarkable for the number of battles and the variety of fortune that attended it, added as much to the reputation of Sylla, as it diminished that of Marius. The latter now seemed slow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his resolutions: Whether it were, that age had quenched his martial heat and vigor (for he was now above sixtyfive years old) or that, as he himself said, his nerves being weak, and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his strength, merely upon a point of honor. However, he beat the enemy in a great battle, wherein he killed at least six thousand of them, and through the whole he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he suffered them to draw a line about him, to ridicule, and challenge him to the combat, without being in the least concerned at it. It is reported, that when Pompedius Silo, an officer of the greatest eminence and authority among the allies, said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight "us;" he answered, "If you are a great general, Silo, "make me come down and fight." Another time, when the enemy gave the Romans a good opportunity of attack-

* This was also called the Marsian war. It broke out in the six hundred and sixtysecond year of Rome. Vid. *Flor.* l. iii. c. 18.

ing them, and they were afraid to embrace it; after both parties were retired, he called his soldiers together, and made this short speech to them—"I know not which to "call the greatest cowards, the enemy or you; for neither "dare they face your backs, nor you theirs." At last pretending to be incapacitated for the service by his infirmities, he laid down the command.

Yet when the war with the confederates drew to an end, and several applications were made, through the popular orators, for the command against Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius, a bold and daring man, contrary to all expectation, brought forth Marius, and nominated him proconsul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, were divided, some accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bade Marius go to the warm baths of Baiæ for cure, since, by his own confession, he was quite worn out with age and defluxions. It seems, Marius had a fine *villa* at Misenum, more luxuriously and effeminately furnished, than became a man who had been at the head of so many armies, and had directed so many campaigns. Cornelia is said to have bought this house for seventyfive thousand drachmas; yet, no long time after, Lucius Lucullus gave for it five hundred thousand two hundred: To such a height did expense and luxury rise in the course of a few years.

Marius, however, affecting to shake off the infirmities of age, went every day into the *campus martius*; where he took the most robust exercises along with the young men, and showed himself nimble in his arms, and active on horseback, though his years had now made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleased with these things, and went to see the spirit he exerted in the exercises. But the more sensible sort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a man, who, though raised from poverty to opulence, and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think, that this man, instead of being happy in the admiration he had gained, and enjoying his present possessions in peace, as if he was in want of all things, was going, at so great an age, and after so many honors and triumphs, to Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. As for the reason that

Marius aſſigned for this ſtep, namely, that he wanted himſelf to train up his ſon to war, it was perfectly trifling.

The commonwealth had been ſickly for ſome time, and now her diſorder came to a criſis. Marius had found a fit inſtrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpicius. A man who in other reſpects admired and imitated Saturninus, but conſidered him as too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined to commit no ſuch error, he got ſix hundred men of the equeſtrian order about him, as his guard, whom he called his *Antiſenate*.

One day while the conſuls were holding an aſſembly of the people,* Sulpitius came upon them with his aſſaſſins. The conſuls immediately fled, but he ſeized the ſon of one of them, and killed him on the ſpot. Sylla (the other conſul) was purſued, but eſcaped into the houſe of Marius, which nobody thought of; and when the purſuers were gone by, it is ſaid that Marius himſelf let him out at a back gate, from whence he got ſafe to the camp. But Sylla, in his Commentaries, denies that he fled to the houſe of Marius. He writes, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts, which they wanted him to paſs againſt his will; that he was ſurrounded with drawn ſwords, and carried forcibly to that houſe; and that at laſt he was removed from thence to the *forum*, where he was compelled to revoke the order of vacation,† which had been iſſued by him and his colleague.

Sulpitius, now carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march, ſent two tribunes to Sylla, with orders that he ſhould deliver up the army to them. But Sylla, inſtead of reſigning his charge, animated his troops to revenge, and led them, to the number of thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, directly againſt Rome. As for the tribunes whom Marius had ſent to demand the army of Sylla, they fell upon them and cut them in pieces. Marius, on the other hand, put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all ſlaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But, we are told, there were

* Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were conſuls. It was the ſon of the latter that was ſlain.

† If that order had not been revoked, no public buſineſs could have been done; conſequently Marius could not have been appointed to the command againſt Mithridates.

but three that accepted this offer. He could therefore make but a ſlight reſiſtance; Sylla ſoon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As ſoon as he had quitted Rome, he was abandoned by thoſe that had accompanied him. They diſperſed themſelves as they could; and night coming on, he retired to a little houſe he had near Rome, called Salonium. Thence he ſent his ſon to ſome neighboring farms of his father in law Mutius, to provide neceſſaries. However, he did not wait for his return, but went down to Oſtia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had prepared him a ſhip and embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's ſon by a former huſband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's eſtate, he haſtened to collect ſuch things as he wanted, and to pack them up. But before he could make an end he was overtaken by day light, and was near being diſcovered by the enemy; for a party of horſe had haſtened thither, on ſuſpicion that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. The bailiff of thoſe grounds got ſight of them in time, and hid the young man in a cart load of beans. Then he put to his team, and driving up to the party of horſemen, paſſed on to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who ſupplied him with ſome neceſſaries; and as ſoon as it grew dark, he made for the ſea, where finding a ſhip ready to ſail for Africa, he embarked, and paſſed over to that country.

In the mean time, the elder Marius with a favorable gale coaſted Italy. But being afraid of falling into the hands of Geminius, a leading man in Tarracina, who was his profeſſed enemy, he directed the mariners to keep clear of that place. The mariners were willing enough to oblige him; but, the wind ſhifting on a ſudden, and blowing hard from ſea, they were afraid they ſhould not be able to weather the ſtorm. Beſides, Marius was indiſpoſed and ſea ſick; they concluded therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circæum. There finding that the tempeſt increaſed, and their proviſions began to fail, they went on ſhore, and wandered up and down, they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by perſons in great perplexity; they ſhun the preſent as the greateſt evil, and ſeek for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the ſea was the ſame: It was dangerous to meet

with men; it was dangerous alſo not to meet with them, becauſe of their extreme want of proviſions. In the evening they met with a few herdſmen, who had nothing to give them; but happening to know Marius, they deſired he would immediately quit thoſe parts, for a little before they had ſeen a number of horſe upon that very ſpot riding about in ſearch of him. He was now involved in all manner of diſtreſs, and thoſe about him ready to give out through hunger. In this extremity he turned out of the road, and threw himſelf into a thick wood, where he paſſed the night in great anxiety. Next day in diſtreſs, for want of refreſhment, and willing to make uſe of the little ſtrength he had, before it quite forſook him, he moved down to the ſea ſide. As he went he encouraged his companions not to deſert him, and earneſtly entreated them to wait for the accompliſhment of his laſt hope, for which he reſerved himſelf, upon the credit of ſome old prophecies. He told them, that when he was very young, and lived in the country, and eagle's neſt fell into his lap, with ſeven young ones in it.*. His parents, ſurpriſed at the ſight, applied to the diviners, who anſwered, that their ſon would be the moſt illuſtrious of men, and that he would ſeven times attain the higheſt office and authority in his country.

Some ſay, this had actually happened to Marius; others are of opinion, that the perſons who were then about him, and heard him relate it, on that as well as ſeveral other occaſions, during his exile, gave credit to it, and committed it to writing, though nothing could be more fabulous. For an eagle has not more than two young ones at a time. Nay, even Muſæus is accuſed of a falſe aſſertion, when he ſays, *The eagle lays three eggs, ſits on two, and hatches but one*. However this may be, it is agreed on all hands, that Marius, during his baniſhment, and in the greateſt extremities, often ſaid, "He ſhould certainly come to a "ſeventh conſulſhip."

They were not now above two miles and a half from the city of Minturnæ, when they eſpied at ſome conſiderable diſtance a troop of horſe making towards them, and at the ſame time happened to ſee two barks ſailing near the ſhore. They ran down, therefore, to the ſea, with all the ſpeed

* Marius might as well avail himſelf of this fable, as of the prophecies of Martha.

and ſtrength they had; and when they had reached it, plunged in and ſwam towards the ſhips. Granius gained one of them, and paſſed over to an oppoſite iſland, called Ænaria. As for Marius, who was very heavy and unwieldy, he was borne with much difficulty by two ſervants above the water, and put into the other ſhip. The party of horſe were by this time come to the ſea ſide, from whence they called to the ſhip's crew, either to put aſhore immediately, or elſe to throw Marius overboard, and then they might go where they pleaſed. Marius begged of them with tears to ſave him; and the maſters of the veſſel, after conſulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions ſeveral times, reſolved to make anſwer, "That "they would not deliver up Marius." Upon this, the ſoldiers rode off in a great rage; and the ſailors, ſoon departing from their reſolution, made for land. They caſt anchor in the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows and forms a marſh, and adviſed Marius, who was much haraſſed, to go and refreſh himſelf on ſhore, till they could get a better wind. This they ſaid would happen at a certain hour, when the wind from the ſea would fall, and that from the marſhes riſe. Marius believing them, they helped him aſhore; and he ſeated himſelf on the graſs, little thinking of what was going to befal him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and ſailed away; thinking it neither honorable to deliver up Marius, nor ſafe to protect him.

Thus deſerted by all the world, he ſat a good while on the ſhore, in ſilent ſtupefaction. At length, recovering himſelf with much difficulty, he roſe and walked in a diſconſolate manner through thoſe wild and devious places, till by ſcrambling over deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He threw himſelf at his feet, and begged him "To ſave and ſhelter a man, who, if he eſcaped the preſent "danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, or was then moved with his venerable aſpect, told him, "His hut would be "ſufficient, if he wanted only to repoſe himſelf; but if he "was wandering about to elude the ſearch of his enemies, "he would hide him in a place much ſafer and more re-"tired." Marius deſiring him to do ſo, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him hide himſelf in a

hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppreſs him.

In a ſhort time, however, he was diſturbed with a tumultuous noiſe from the cottage. For Geminius had ſent a number of men from Tarracina in purſuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man, for having entertained and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave; and having ſtript himſelf, plunged into the bog, amidſt the thick water and mud. This expedient rather diſcovered than ſcreened him. They hauled him out naked, and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magiſtrates. For proclamation had been made through all thoſe towns, that a general ſearch ſhould be made for Marius, and that he ſhould be put to death wherever he was found. The magiſtrates, however, thought proper to conſider of it, and ſent him under a guard to the houſe of Fannia. This woman had an inveterate averſion to Marius. When ſhe was divorced from her huſband Tinnius, ſhe demanded her whole fortune, which was conſiderable, and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cauſe was brought before Marius, who was then conſul for the ſixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage; and that Tinnius was no ſtranger to her character when he married her. Beſides, he had lived with her a conſiderable time in the ſtate of matrimony. The conſul, of courſe, reprimanded them both. The huſband was ordered to reſtore his wife's fortune, and the wife, as a proper mark of her diſgrace, was ſentenced to pay a fine of four drachmas.

Fannia, however, forgetful of female reſentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmoſt of her power. He acknowledged her generoſity, and at the ſame time expreſſed the greateſt vivacity and confidence. The occaſion of this was an auſpicious omen. When he was conducted to her houſe, as he approached and the gate was opened, an aſs came out to drink at a neighboring fountain. The animal, with a vivacity uncommon to its ſpecies, fixed its eyes ſtedfaſtly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and as it paſſed him, ſkipped wantonly along. The concluſion which he drew from this omen was, that the gods meant he ſhould ſeek his ſafety by ſea; for that it was not in conſequence of

any natural thirſt, that the aſs went to the fountain.* This circumſtance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be ſecured he went to reſt.

However, the magiſtrates and council of Minturnæ concluded that Marius ſhould immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for both are mentioned in hiſtory) went up to him ſword in hand, with an intent to deſpateh him. The chamber in which he lay, was ſomewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the aſſaſſin; while, at the ſame time, he heard a ſolemn voice ſaying, "Doſt thou dare to kill Marius?" Upon this the aſſaſſin threw down his ſword and fled, crying, "I cannot kill "Marius." The people of Minturnæ were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment—pity and remorſe enſued—ſhould they put to death the preſerver of Italy? Was it not even a diſgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief? "Let "him go," ſaid they; "let the exile go, and await his deſti-"ny in ſome other region! It is time we ſhould deprecate "the anger of the gods, who have refuſed the poor, the "naked wanderer the common privileges of hoſpitality!" Under the influence of this enthuſiaſm, they immediately conducted him to the ſea coaſt. Yet in the midſt of their officious expedition they met with ſome delay. The Marician grove, which they hold ſacred, and ſuffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way.—Conſequently they could not paſs through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At laſt an old man of the company cried out, that no place, however religious, was inacceſſible, if it could contribute to the preſervation of Marius. No ſooner had he ſaid this, than he took ſome of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The reſt followed with the ſame alacrity, and when Marius came to the ſea coaſt, he found a veſſel provided for him by one Belæeus. Some time after he preſented a picture repreſenting this event to the temple of Marica.† When Marius ſet ſail, the wind drove him to the iſland of Æneria, where he found Granius and ſome other friends, and with

* All that was extraordinary in this circumſtance was, that the aſs, like the ſheep, is ſeldom ſeen to drink.

† Virgil mentions this nymph, Æn. 7.

——"Et Nympha genitum Laurente Marica."

them he ſailed for Africa. Being in want of freſh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily, where the Roman quæſtor kept ſuch ſtrict watch, that Marius very narrowly eſcaped, and no fewer than ſixteen of the watermen were killed. From thence he immediately ſailed for the iſland of Meninx, where he firſt heard that his ſon had eſcaped with Cethegus, and was gone to implore the ſuccor of Hiempſal, king of Numidia. This gave him ſome encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa was Sextilius. He had neither received favor nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped for ſomething from his pity. He was juſt landed, with a few of his men, when an officer came and thus addreſſed him: "Marius, I come from the prætor "Sextilius, to tell you, that he forbids you to ſet foot in "Africa. If you obey not, he will ſupport the ſenate's "decree, and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was ſtruck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for ſome time, but ſtood regarding the officer with a menacing aſpect. At length, the officer aſked him, what anſwer he ſhould carry to the governor. "Go and tell him," ſaid the unfortunate man with a ſigh, "that thou haſt ſeen the exiled Marius ſitting "on the ruins of Carthage."* Thus, in the happieſt manner in the world, he propoſed the fate of that city and his own as warnings to the prætor.

In the mean time, Hiempſal king of Numidia, was unreſolved how to act with reſpect to young Marius. He treated him in an honorable manner at his court, but whenever he deſired leave to depart, found ſome pretence or other to detain him. At the ſame time it was plain, that theſe delays did not proceed from any intention of ſerving him. An accident, however, ſet him free. The young man was handſome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes. Pity ſoon turned to love. At firſt he rejected the woman's advances. But when he ſaw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than groſs, he accepted the tender of her heart; and by her means eſcaped with his friends, and came to his father.

* There is not, perhaps, any thing nobler, or a greater proof of genius, than this ſaying, in Marius's whole life.

After the firſt ſalutations, as they walked along the ſhore, they ſaw two ſcorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius an ill omen; they went, therefore, on board a fiſhing boat, and made for Cercina, an iſland not far diſtant from the continent. They were ſcarce got out to ſea, when they ſaw a party of the king's horſe on full ſpeed towards the place where they embarked; ſo that Marius thought he never eſcaped a more inſtant danger.

He was now informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Bœotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the conſuls at Rome,* and that they had recourſe to arms. Octavius, having the advantage, drove out Cinna, who was aiming at abſolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula conſul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war againſt them. Marius, upon this news, determined to haſten to Cinna. He took with him ſome Maruſian horſe, which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above a thouſand men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuſcany called Telamon, and as ſoon as he was landed proclaimed liberty to the ſlaves. The name of Marius brought down numbers of freemen too, huſbandmen, ſhepherds, and ſuch like, to the ſhore; the ableſt of which he enliſted, and in a ſhort time had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ſhips. He knew Octavius to be a man of good principles, and diſpoſed to govern agreeably to juſtice; but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and at that time in open war againſt the eſtabliſhed government. He reſolved, therefore, to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly, he ſent to acquaint him, that he conſidered him as conſul, and was ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offer, declared him proconſul, and ſent him the *faſces* and other enſigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alleging that ſuch pomp did not become his ruined fortunes. Inſtead of that, he wore a mean garment, and let his hair grow as it had done from the day of his exile. He was now, indeed, upwards of ſeventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly ſlow. This appearance was intended to excite

* The year of Rome ſix hundred and ſixtyſix, and eightyfive years before Chriſt. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was againſt it.

compaſſion. Yet his native fierceneſs, and ſomething more, might be diſtinguiſhed amidſt all this look of miſery; and it was evident that he was not ſo much humbled, as exaſperated, by his misfortunes.

When he had ſaluted Cinna, and made a ſpeech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and ſoon changed the face of affairs. In the firſt place, he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their ſtore-ſhips, and made himſelf maſter of the breadcorn. In the next place, he coaſted along, and ſeized the ſeaport towns. At laſt, Oſtia itſelf was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, ſlew moſt of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge over the Tiber to prevent the carrying of any proviſions to Rome by ſea. Then he marched to Rome, and poſted himſelf upon the hill called Janiculum.

Meanwhile, the cauſe did not ſuffer ſo much by the incapacity of Octavius, as by his anxious and unſeaſonable attention to the laws. For, when many of his friends adviſed him to enfranchiſe the ſlaves, he ſaid, "He would "not grant ſuch perſons the freedom of that city, in de-"fence of whoſe conſtitution he ſhut out Marius."

But upon the arrival of Metellus, the ſon of that Metellus who commanded in the African war, and was afterwards baniſhed by Marius, the army within the walls leaving Octavius, applied to him, as the better officer, and entreated him to take the command; adding that they ſhould fight and conquer, when they had got an able and active general. Metellus, however, rejected their ſuit with indignation, and bade them go back to the conſul; inſtead of which, they went over to the enemy. At the ſame time Metellus withdrew, giving up the city for loſt.

As for Octavius, he ſtayed, at the perſuaſion of certain Chaldæan diviners and expoſiters of the Sibylline books, who promiſed him that all would be well. Octavius was indeed one of the moſt upright men among the Romans; he ſupported his dignity as conſul, without giving any ear to flatterers, and regarded the laws and ancient uſages of his country as rules never to be departed from. Yet he had all the weakneſs of ſuperſtition, and ſpent more of his time with fortune tellers and prognoſticators, than with men of political or military abilities. However, before Marius entered the city, Octavius was dragged from the tribunal and ſlain by perſons commiſſioned for that purpoſe, and it

is ſaid that a Chaldæan ſcheme was found in his boſom as he lay. It ſeems unaccountable, that of two ſuch generals as Marius and Octavius, the one ſhould be ſaved, and the other ruined, by a confidence in divination.

While affairs were in this poſture, the ſenate aſſembled, and ſent ſome of their own body to Cinna and Marius, with a requeſt that they ſhould come into the city, but ſpare the inhabitants. Cinna, as conſul, received them, ſitting in his chair of ſtate, and gave them an obliging anſwer. But Marius ſtood by the conſul's chair, and ſpoke not a word. He ſhowed, however, by the gloomineſs of his look, and the menacing ſenſe of his eye, that he would ſoon fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forward towards Rome. Cinna entered the city with a ſtrong guard: But Marius ſtopped at the gates, with a diſſimulation dictated by his reſentment. He ſaid, "He "was a baniſhed man, and the laws prohibited his return. "If his country wanted his ſervice, ſhe muſt repeal the "law which drove him into exile." As if he had a real regard for the laws, or were entering a city ſtill in poſſeſſion of its liberty.

The people, therefore, were ſummoned to aſſemble for that purpoſe. But before three or four tribes had given their ſuffrages, he put off the maſk, and, without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with a guard ſelected from the ſlaves that had repaired to his ſtandard. Theſe he called his Bardiæans.* At the leaſt word or ſign given by Marius, they murdered all whom he marked for deſtruction. So that when Ancharius, a ſenator, and a man of prætorian dignity, ſaluted Marius, and he returned not the ſalutation, they killed him in his preſence. After this, they conſidered it as a ſignal to kill any man, who ſaluted Marius in the ſtreets, and was not taken any notice of: So that his very friends were ſeized with horror, whenever they went to pay their reſpects to him.

When they had butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began to pall; it was ſatiated with blood—But the fury of Marius ſeemed rather to increaſe; his appetite for ſlaughter was ſharpened by indulgence, and he went on

* M. de Thou conjunctured that we ſhould read Bardyetæ, becauſe there was a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name. Some manuſcripts have Ortiæans.

deſtroying all who gave him the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion. Every road, every town was full of aſſaſſins, purſuing and hunting the unhappy victims.

On this occaſion it was found, that no obligations of friendſhip, no rights of hoſpitality, can ſtand the ſhock of ill fortune. For there were very few who did not betray thoſe that had taken refuge in their houſes. The ſlaves of Cornutus, therefore, deſerve the higheſt admiration. They hid their maſter in the houſe, and took a dead body out of the ſtreet from among the ſlain, and hanged it by the neck; then they put a gold ring on the finger, and ſhowed the corpſe in that condition to Marius's executioners; after which, they dreſſed it for the funeral, and buried it as their maſter's body. No one ſuſpected the matter; and Cornutus, after being concealed as long as it was neceſſary, was conveyed by thoſe ſervants into Galatia.

Mark Antony the orator likewiſe found a faithful friend, but did not ſave his life by it. This friend of his was in a low ſtation of life; however, as he had one of the greateſt men of Rome under his roof, he entertained him in the beſt manner he could, and often ſent to a neighboring tavern for wine for him. The vintner finding that the ſervant who fetched it, was ſomething of a connoiſſeur in taſting the wine, and inſiſted on having better, aſked him, "Why he was not ſatisfied with the common new wine he "uſed to have; but wanted the beſt and the deareſt?" The ſervant, in the ſimplicity of his heart, told him, as his friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his maſter's houſe. As ſoon as he was gone, the knowing vintner went himſelf to Marius, who was then at ſupper and told him, he could put Antony into his power: Upon which, Marius clapped his hands in the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company, and gone to the place himſelf, had not he been diſſuaded by his friends. However, he ſent an officer, named Annius, with ſome ſoldiers, and ordered him to bring the head of Antony. When they came to the houſe, Annius ſtood at the door, while the ſoldiers got up by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they ſaw him, they encouraged each other to the execution; but, ſuch was the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that ſo far from laying hands upon him, they ſtood motionleſs, with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay, Annius

goes up, beholds Antony addreſſing the ſoldiers, and the ſoldiers confounded by the force of his addreſs. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakneſs, and with his own hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catulus, the colleague of Marius, who had jointly triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that every interceſſory effort was vain, ſhut himſelf up in a narrow chamber, and ſuffered himſelf to be ſuffocated by the ſteam of a large coal fire. When the bodies were thrown out and trod upon in the ſtreets—it was not pity they excited; it was horror and diſmay. But what ſhocked the people much more was the conduct of the Bardiæans, who after they had murdered the maſters of families, expoſed the nakedneſs of their children, and indulged their paſſions with their wives. In ſhort, their violence and rapacity were beyond all reſtraint, till Cinna and Sertorius determined, in council, to fall upon them in their ſleep, and cut them off to a man.

At this time the tide of affairs took a ſudden turn. News was brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that after having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome with a large army. This gave a ſhort reſpite, a breathing from theſe inexpreſſible troubles; as the apprehenſions of war had been univerſally prevalent. Marius was now choſen conſul the ſeventh time, and as he was walking out on the kalends of January, the firſt day of the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinus to be ſeized, and thrown down the Tarpeian rock; a circumſtance, which occaſioned an unhappy preſage of approaching evils. The conſul himſelf, worn out with a ſeries of misfortunes and diſtreſs, found his faculties fail, and trembled at the approach of wars and conflicts. For he conſidered that it was not an Octavius, a Merula, the deſperate leaders of a ſmall ſedition, he had to contend with, but Sylla, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the baniſher of Marius. Thus agitated, thus revolving the miſeries, the flights, the dangers he had experienced both by land and ſea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voice ſeemed continually to pronounce in his ear:

Dread are the ſlumbers of the diſtant lion.

Unable to ſupport the painfulneſs of watching, he had recourſe to the bottle, and gave thoſe exceſſes, which by no means ſuited his years. At laſt, when, by intelligence

from ſea, he was convinced of the approach of Sylla, his apprehenſions were heightened to the greateſt degree. The dread of his approach, the pain of continual anxiety, threw him into a pleuritic fever; and in this ſtate, Poſidonius, the philoſopher, tells us, he found him, when he went to ſpeak to him on ſome affairs of his embaſſy. But Caius Piſo the hiſtorian relates, that walking out with his friends one evening at ſupper, he gave them a ſhort hiſtory of his life, and, after expatiating on the uncertainty of fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of a wiſe man to live in ſubjection to that fickle deity. Upon this, he took leave of his friends, and betaking himſelf to his bed, died ſeven days after. There are thoſe who impute his death to the exceſs of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into a delirium; inſomuch that he fancied he was carrying on the war againſt Mithridates, and uttered all the expreſſions uſed in an engagement.—Such was the violence of his ambition for that command!

Thus, at the age of ſeventy, diſtinguiſhed by the unparalleled honor of ſeven conſulſhips, and poſſeſſed of a more than regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted.

Plato, at the point of death, congratulated himſelf, in the firſt place, that he was born a man; in the next place, that he had the happineſs of being a Greek, not a brute or barbarian; and laſt of all, that he was the cotemporary of Sophocles. Antipater of Tarſus, too, a little before his death recollected the ſeveral advantages of his life, not forgetting even his ſucceſsful voyage to Athens. In ſettling his accounts with Fortune, he carefully entered every agreeable circumſtance in that excellent book of the mind, his memory. How much wiſer, how much happier than thoſe, who, forgetful of every bleſſing they have received, hang on the vain and deceitful hand of hope, and while they are idly graſping at future acquiſitions, neglect the enjoyment of the preſent! Though the future gifts of fortune are not in their power, and though their preſent poſſeſſions are not in the power of fortune, they look up to the former and neglect the latter. Their puniſhment, however, is not leſs juſt, than it is certain. Before philoſophy and the cultivation of reaſon have laid a proper foundation for the management of wealth and power, they purſue them with

that avidity, which muſt for ever haraſs an undiſciplined mind.

Marius died on the ſeventeenth day of his ſeventh conſulſhip. His death was productive of the greateſt joy in Rome, and the citizens looked upon it as an event that freed them from the worſt of tyrannies. It was not long, however, before they found that they had changed an old and feeble tyrant, for one who had youth and vigor to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found the ſon of Marius, whoſe ſanguinary ſpirit ſhowed itſelf in the deſtruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behavior at firſt procured him the title of the ſon of Mars, but his conduct afterwards denominated him the ſon of Venus. When he was beſieged in Preneſte, and had tried every little artifice to eſcape, he put an end to his life, that he might not fall into the hands of Sylla.

LYSANDER.

AMONG the ſacred depoſits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inſcription, BRASIDAS AND THE ACANTHII TOOK THIS FROM THE ATHENIANS.* Hence many are of opinion, that the marble ſtatue which ſtands in the chapel of that nation juſt by the door, is the ſtatue of Braſidas. But in fact it is Lyſander's, whom it perfectly repreſents, with his hair at full growth,† and a length of beard, both after the ancient faſhion. It is not true, indeed (as ſome would have it) that, while the Argives cut their hair in ſorrow for the loſs of a great battle,‡ the Lacedæmonians began to let theirs grow in the joy of ſucceſs. Nor did they firſt give into this cuſtom, when the

* Braſidas, when general of the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded the people of Acanthus to quit the Athenian intereſt, and to receive the Spartans into their city. In conſequence of which he joined with them in conſecrating certain Athenian ſpoils to Apollo. The ſtatue, therefore, probably was his, though Plutarch thinks otherwiſe. Vid. *Thucyd.* lib. iv.

† Why might not Braſidas, who was a Lacedæmonian, and a contemporary of Lyſander, be repreſented with long hair as well as he?

‡ This was the opinion of Herodotus; but perfectly groundleſs.

Bacchiadæ* fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, and made a diſagreeable appearance with their ſhorn locks. But it is derived from the inſtitution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have ſaid, that *long hair makes the handſome more beautiful, and the ugly more terrible.*

Ariſtoclitus,† the father of Lyſander, is ſaid not to have been of the royal line, but to be deſcended from the Heraclidæ by another family. As for Lyſander, he was bred up in poverty. No one conformed more freely to the Spartan diſcipline than he. He had a firm heart, above yielding to the charms of any pleaſure, except that which reſults from the honor and ſucceſs gained by great actions. And it was no fault at Sparta for young men to be led by this ſort of pleaſure. There they chooſe to inſtil into their children an early paſſion for glory, and teach them to be much affected by diſgrace, as well as elated by praiſe. And he that is not moved at theſe things, is deſpiſed as a perſon of a mean ſoul, unambitious of the improvements of virtue.

That love of fame, then, and jealouſy of honor, which ever influenced Lyſander, were imbibed in his education; and conſequently nature is not to be blamed for them. But the attention which he paid the great, in a manner that did not become a Spartan, and that eaſineſs with which he bore the pride of power, whenever his own intereſt was concerned, may be aſcribed to his diſpoſition. This complaiſance, however, is conſidered by ſome as no ſmall part of politics.

Ariſtotle ſomewhere obſerves,‡ that great geniuſes are generally of a melancholy turn, of which he gives inſtances in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules; and he tells us that Lyſander, though not in his youth, yet in his age was inclined to it. But what is moſt peculiar in his character is, that though he bore poverty well himſelf, and was never either conquered or corrupted by money, yet he filled Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, and robbed her of the glory ſhe had of deſpiſing riches. For, after the Athenian war, he brought in a great quantity of gold and ſilver, but

* The Bacchiadæ had kept up an oligarchy in Corinth for two hundred years, but were at laſt expelled by Cypſelus, who made himſelf abſolute maſter there. *Herodot.* l. v.

† Pauſanias calls him Ariſtocritus.

‡ Problem. ſect. 30.

reſerved no part of it for himſelf. And when Dionyſius the tyrant ſent his daughter ſome rich Sicilian garments, he refuſed them, alleging, "He was afraid thoſe fine clothes "would make them look more homely." Being ſent, however, ſoon after, ambaſſador to Dionyſius, the tyrant offered him two veſts, that he might take one of them for his daughter; upon which, he ſaid, "His daughter knew "better how to chooſe than he," and ſo took them both.

As the Peloponneſian war was drawn out to a great length, the Athenians, after their overthrow in Sicily, ſaw their fleets driven out of the ſea, and themſelves upon the verge of ruin. But Alcibiades, on his return from baniſhment, applied himſelf to remedy this evil, and ſoon made ſuch a change, that the Athenians were once more equal in naval conflicts to the Lacedæmonians. Hereupon the Lacedæmonians began to be afraid in their turn, and reſolved to proſecute the war with double diligence; and as they ſaw it required an able general, as well as great preparations, they gave the command at ſea to Lyſander.*

When he came to Epheſus, he found that city well inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a bad condition as to its internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Perſians; becauſe it was near Lydia, and the king's lieutenants often viſited it. Lyſander, therefore, having fixed his quarters there, ordered all his ſtore ſhips to be brought into their harbor, and built a dock for the galleys. By theſe means he filled their port with merchants, their market with buſineſs, and their houſes and ſhops with money. So that from time and from his ſervices, Epheſus began to conceive hopes of that greatneſs and ſplendor in which it now flouriſhes.

As ſoon as he heard that Cyrus, the king's ſon, was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to confer with him, and to acquaint him with the treachery of Tiſaphernes. That viceroy had an order to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians, and to deſtroy the naval force of the Athenians; but, by reaſon of his partiality to Alcibiades, he acted with no vigor, and ſent ſuch poor ſupplies, that the fleet was almoſt ruined. Cyrus was very glad to find this charge againſt Tiſaphernes, knowing him to be a man of bad character in general, and

* In the firſt year of the ninetyeighth Olympiad, four hundred and ſix years before Chriſt.

an ememy to him in particular. By this and the reſt of his converſation, but moſt of all by the reſpect and attention which he paid him, Lyſander recommended himſelf to the young prince, and engaged him to proſecute the war. When the Lacedæmonian was going to take his leave, Cyrus deſired him, at an entertainment provided on that occaſion, not to refuſe the marks of his regard, but to aſk ſome favor of him. "As you are ſo very kind to me," ſaid Lyſander, "I beg you would add an *obolus* to the ſea-"men's pay, ſo that inſtead of three *oboli* a day, they may "have four." Cyrus, charmed with this generous anſwer, made him a preſent of ten thouſand pieces of gold.* Lyſander employed the money to increaſe the wages of his men, and by this encouragement in a ſhort time almoſt emptied the enemy's ſhips. For great numbers came over to him, when they knew they ſhould have better pay; and thoſe who remained, became indolent and mutinous, and gave their officers continual trouble. But though Lyſander had thus drained and weakened his adverſaries, he was afraid to riſk a naval engagement; knowing Alcibiades not only to be a commander of extraordinary abilities, but to have the advantage in number of ſhips, as well as to have been ſucceſsful in all the battles he had fought whether by ſea or land.

However, when Alcibiades was gone from Samos to Phocæa, and had left the command of the fleet to his pilot Antiochus, the pilot, to inſult Lyſander, and ſhow his own bravery, ſailed to the harbor of Epheſus with two galleys only, where he hailed the Lacedæmonian fleet with a great deal of noiſe and laughter, and paſſed by in the moſt inſolent manner imaginable; Lyſander reſenting the affront, got a few of his ſhips under ſail, and gave chaſe. But when he ſaw the Athenians come to ſupport Antiochus, he called up more of his galleys, and at laſt the action became general. Lyſander gained the victory, took fifteen ſhips, and erected a trophy. Hereupon, the people of Athens, incenſed at Alcibiades, took the command from him; and, as he found himſelf ſlighted and cenſured by the army at Samos too, he quitted it, and withdrew to Cherſoneſus. This battle, though not conſiderable in itſelf, was made ſo by the misfortunes of Alcibiades.

* Darici.

Lyſander now invited to Epheſus the boldeſt and moſt enterpriſing inhabitants of the Greek cities in Aſia, and ſowed among them the ſeeds of thoſe ariſtocratical forms of government which afterwards took place. He encouraged them to enter into aſſociations, and to turn their thoughts to politics, upon promiſe, that when Athens was once ſubdued, the popular government in their cities too ſhould be diſſolved, and the adminiſtration veſted in them. His actions gave them a confidence in his promiſe. For thoſe who were already attached to him by friendſhip or the rights of hoſpitality, he advanced to the higheſt honours and employments; not ſcrupling to join with them in any act of fraud or oppreſſion, to ſatisfy their avarice and ambition. So that every one endeavored to ingratiate himſelf with Lyſander; to him they paid their court; they fixed their hearts upon him; perſuaded that nothing was too great for them to expect, while he had the management of affairs. Hence it was, that from the firſt they looked with an ill eye on Callicratidas, who ſucceeded him in the command of the fleet; and though they afterwards found him the beſt and moſt upright of men, they were not ſatisfied with his conduct, which they thought had too much of the Doric* plainneſs and ſincerity. It is true, they admired the virtue of Callicratidas, as they would the beauty of ſome hero's ſtatue; but they wanted the countenance, the indulgence, and ſupport they had experienced in Lyſander, inſomuch that when he left them, they were quite dejected, and melted into tears.

Indeed, he took every method he could think of, to ſtrengthen their averſion to Callicratidas. He even ſent back to Sardis the remainder of the money, which Cyrus had given him for the ſupply of the fleet, and bade his ſucceſſor go and aſk for it, as he had done, or contrive ſome other means for the maintenance of his forces. And when he was upon the point of ſailing, he made this declaration: "I deliver to you a fleet that is miſtreſs of the "ſeas." Callicratidas, willing to ſhow the inſolence and vanity of his boaſt, ſaid, "Why do not you then take Sa-"mos on the left, and ſail round to Miletus, and deliver "the fleet to me there? for we need not be afraid of paſſing

* Dacier refers this to the Dorian muſic. But the Doric manners had a ſimplicity in them, as well as the muſic.

"by our enemies in that iſland, if we are maſters of the "ſeas." Lyſander made only this ſuperficial anſwer: "You have the command of the ſhips, and not I;" and immediately ſet ſail for Peloponneſus.

Callicratidas was left in great difficulties. For he had not brought money from home with him, nor did he chooſe to raiſe contributions from the cities, which were already diſtreſſed. The only way left, therefore, was to go, as Lyſander had done, and beg it of the king's lieutenants. And no one was more unfit for ſuch an office, than a man of his free and great ſpirit, who thought any loſs that Grecians might ſuſtain from Grecians, preferable to an abject attendance at the doors of barbarians, who had indeed a great deal of gold, but nothing elſe to boaſt of. Neceſſity, however, forced him into Lydia; where he went directly to the palace of Cyrus, and bade the porters tell him that Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral, deſired to ſpeak with him. "Stranger," ſaid one of the fellows, "Cyrus is not at leiſure; he is drinking." "'Tis very "well, ſaid Callicratidas, with great ſimplicity, "I will "wait here till he has done." But when he found that theſe people conſidered him as a ruſtic, and only laughed at him, he went away. He came a ſecond time and could not gain admittance. And now he could bear it no longer, but returned to Epheſus, venting execrations againſt thoſe who firſt cringed to the barbarians, and taught them to be inſolent on account of their wealth. At the ſame time he proteſted, that as ſoon as he was got back to Sparta, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavors to reconcile the Grecians among themſelves, and to make them formidable to the barbarians, inſtead of their poorly petitioning thoſe people for aſſiſtance againſt each other. But this Callicratidas, who had ſentiments ſo worthy of a Spartan, and who, in point of juſtice, magnanimity, and valor, was equal to the beſt of the Greeks, fell ſoon after in a ſeafight at Arginuſæ, where he loſt the day.

Affairs being now in a declining condition, the confederates ſent an embaſſy to Sparta, to deſire that the command of the navy might be reſtored to Lyſander, promiſing to ſupport the cauſe with much greater vigor, if he had the direction of it. Cyrus, too, made the ſame requiſition. But as the law forbade the ſame perſon to be choſen admiral twice, and yet the Lacedæmonians were willing to oblige

their allies, they veſted a nominal command in one Aracus, while Lyſander, who was called only lieutenant, had the power. His arrival was very agreeable to thoſe who had, or wanted to have, the chief authority in the Aſiatic cities; for he had long given them hopes, that the democracy would be aboliſhed, and the government devolve entirely upon them.

As for thoſe who loved an open and generous proceeding, when they compared Lyſander and Callicratidas, the former appeared only a man of craft and ſubtlety, who directed his operations by a ſet of artful expedients, and meaſured the value of juſtice by the advantage it brought; who, in ſhort, thought intereſt a thing of ſuperior excellence, and that nature had made no difference between truth and falſehood, but either was recommended by its uſe. When he was told, it did not become the deſcendants of Hercules to adopt ſuch artful expedients, he turned it off with a jeſt, and ſaid, "Where the lion's ſkin falls ſhort, it muſt be "eked out with the fox's."

There was a remarkable inſtance of this ſubtlety, in his behavior at Miletus. His friends and others with whom he had connexions there, who had promiſed to aboliſh the popular government, and to drive out all that favored it, had changed their minds and reconciled themſelves to their adverſaries. In public he pretended to rejoice at the event, and to cement the union; but in private he loaded them with reproaches, and excited them to attack the commons. However, when he knew the tumult was begun, he entered the city in haſte, and running up to the leaders of the ſedition, gave them a ſevere reprimand, and threatened to puniſh them in an exemplary manner. At the ſame time, he deſired the people to be perfectly eaſy, and to fear no farther diſturbance while he was there. In all which he acted only like an artful diſſembler, to hinder the heads of the plebian party from quitting the city, and to make ſure of their being put to the ſword there. Accordingly there was not a man that truſted to his honor, who did not loſe his life.

There is a ſaying too, of Lyſander's, recorded by Androclides, which ſhows the little regard he had for oaths, "Children," he ſaid, "were to be cheated with cockalls, "and men with oaths." In this he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it ill became a general of

an army to imitate a tyrant, and was unworthy of a Lacedæmonian to hold the gods in a more contemptible light than even his enemies. For he who overreaches by a falſe oath, declares that he fears his enemy, but deſpiſes his God.

Cyrus, having ſent for Lyſander to Sardis, preſented him with great ſums, and promiſed more. Nay, to ſhow how high he was in his favor, he went ſo far as to aſſure him, that if his father would give him nothing, he would ſupply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing elſe failed, he would melt down the very throne on which he ſat when he adminiſtered juſtice, and which was all of maſſy gold and ſilver. And when he went to attend his father in Media, he aſſigned him the tribute of the towns, and put the care of his whole province in his hands. At parting he embraced, and entreated him not to engage the Athenians at ſea before his return, becauſe he intended to bring with him a great fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After the departure of the prince, Lyſander did not chooſe to fight the enemy, who were not inferior to him in force, nor yet to lie idle with ſuch a number of ſhips, and therefore he cruiſed about and reduced ſome iſlands. Ægina and Salamis he pillaged; and from thence ſailed to Attica where he waited on Agis, who was come down from Decilia to the coaſt, to ſhow his land forces what a powerful navy there was, which gave them the command of the ſeas in a manner they could not have expected. Lyſander, however, ſeeing the Athenians in chaſe of him, ſteered another way back through the iſlands to Aſia. As he found the Helleſpont unguarded, he attacked Lampſacus by ſea, while Thorax made an aſſault upon it by land; in conſequence of which the city was taken, and the plunder given to the troops. In the mean time the Athenian fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred and twenty ſhips, had advanced to Eleus, a city in the Cherſoneſus. There getting intelligence that Lampſacus was loſt, they ſailed immediately to Seſtos; where they took in proviſions, and then proceeded to Ægos Potamos. They were now juſt oppoſite the enemy, who ſtill lay at anchor near Lampſacus. The Athenians were under the command of ſeveral officers, among whom Philocles was one; the ſame who had perſuaded the people to make a decree that the priſoners of war ſhould have their

right thumbs cut off, that they might be disabled from handling a pike, but still be serviceable at the oar.

For the present they all went to rest, in hopes of coming to an action next day. But Lysander had another design. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board, as if he intended to fight at break of day. These were to wait in silence for orders, the land forces were to form on the shore, and watch the signal. At sunrise the Athenians drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians, and gave the challenge. Lysander, though he had manned his ships over night, and stood facing the enemy, did not accept of it. On the contrary, he sent orders by his pinnaces to those ships that were in the van not to stir, but to keep the line without making the least motion. In the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not suffer one man to land, till two or three galleys which he had sent to look out, returned with an account that the enemy were disembarked. Next morning they ranged themselves in the same manner, and the like was practised a day or two longer. This made the Athenians very confident; they considered the adversaries as a dastardly set of men, who durst not quit their station.

Meanwhile, Alcibiades, who lived in a castle of his own in the Chersonesus, rode to the Athenian camp, and represented to the generals two material errors they had committed. The first was, that they had stationed their ships near a dangerous and naked shore; the other, that they were so far from Sestos, from whence they were forced to fetch all their provisions. He told them, it was their business to sail to the port of Sestos without loss of time; where they would be at a greater distance from the enemy, who were watching their opportunity with an army commanded by one man, and so well disciplined, that they would execute his orders upon the least signal. These were the lessons he gave them, but they did not regard him. Nay, Tydeus said with an air of contempt, "You are not general now, but we." Alcibiades even suspected some treachery, and therefore withdrew.

On the fifth day, when the Athenians had offered battle, they returned, as usual, in a careless and disdainful manner. Upon this, Lysander detached some galleys to observe them; and ordered the officers, as soon as they saw the Athenians landed, to sail back as fast as possible; and when they were

come half way, to lift up a brazen ſhield at the head of each ſhip, as a ſignal for him to advance. He then ſailed through all the line, and gave inſtructions to the captains and pilots to have all their men in good order, as well mariners as ſoldiers; and, when the ſignal was given, to puſh forward with the utmoſt vigor againſt the enemy. As ſoon, therefore, as the ſignal appeared, the trumpet ſounded in the admiral galley, the ſhips began to move on, and the land forces haſtened along the ſhore to ſeize the promontory. The ſpace between the two continents, in that place, is fifteen furlongs, which was ſoon overſhot by the diligence and ſpirit of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firſt that deſcried them from land, and haſtened to get his men on board. Senſible of the impending danger, ſome he commanded, ſome he entreated, and others he forced into the ſhips. But all his endeavors were in vain. His men not in the leaſt expecting a ſurpriſe, were diſperſed up and down, ſome in the market place, ſome in the fields; ſome were aſleep in their tents, and ſome preparing their dinner. All this was owing to the inexperience of their commanders, which had made them quite regardleſs of what might happen. The ſhouts and the noiſe of the enemy ruſhing on to the attack were now heard, when Conon fled with eight ſhips, and eſcaped to Evagoras king of Cyprus. The Peloponneſians fell upon the reſt, took thoſe that were empty, and diſabled the others, as the Athenians were embarking. Their ſoldiers coming unarmed and in a ſtraggling manner to defend the ſhips, periſhed in the attempt, and thoſe that fled were ſlain by that part of the enemy which had landed. Lyſander took three thouſand priſoners and ſeized the whole fleet, except the ſacred galley called Peralus, and thoſe that eſcaped with Conon. When he had faſtened the captive galleys to his own, and plundered the camp, he returned to Lampſacus, accompanied with the flutes and ſongs of triumph. This great action coſt him but little blood; in one hour he put an end to a long and tedious war,* which had been diverſified beyond all others by an incredible variety of events. This cruel war, which had occaſioned ſo many battles, appeared in ſuch different forms, produced ſuch viciſſitudes of fortune, and deſtroyed more generals than all the wars of Greece put together, was

* This war laſted twenty-ſeven years.

terminated by the conduct and capacity of one man. Some therefore esteemed it the effect of a divine interposition. There were those who said, that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each side the helm of Lysander's ship, when he first set out against the Athenians. Others thought that a stone which, according to the common opinion, fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. It fell at Ægos Potamos, and was of a prodigious size. The people of the Chersonesus hold it in great veneration, and show it to this day.* It is said that Anaxagoras had foretold, that one of those bodies which are fixed in the vault of heaven, would one day be loosened by some shock or convulsion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught that the stars are not now in the places where they were originally formed; that being of a stony substance and heavy, the light they give is caused only by the reflection and refraction of the other; and that they are carried along, and kept in their orbits, by the rapid motion of the heavens, which from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were separated from the rest, hindered them from falling.

But there is another and more probable opinion, which holds, that falling stars are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire, that go out the moment they are kindled; nor yet a quantity of air bursting out from some compression, and taking fire in the upper region; but that they are really heavenly bodies, which, from some relaxation of the rapidity of their motion, or by some irregular concussion, are loosened and fall, not so much upon the habitable part of the globe, as into the ocean, which is the reason that their substance is seldom seen.

Damachus,† however, in his treatise concerning religion, confirms the opinion of Anaxagoras. He relates, that for seventyfive days together, before that stone fell, there was seen in the heavens a large body of fire, like an inflamed cloud, not fixed to one place but carried this way and that

* This victory was gained the fourth year of the ninetythird Olympiad, four hundred and three years before the birth of Christ. And it is pretended that Anaxagoras had delivered his prediction sixtytwo years before the battle. *Plin.* l. xi, c. 58.

† Not Damachus, but Diamachus of Plataea, a very fabulous writer, and ignorant of the mathematics; in which as well as history, he pretended to great knowledge. *Strab.* lib. i.

with a broken and irregular motion; and that by its violent agitation, ſeveral fiery fragments were forced from it, which were impelled in various directions, and darted with the celerity and brightneſs of ſo many falling ſtars. After this body was fallen in the Cherſoneſus, and the inhabitants, recovered from their terror, aſſembled to ſee it, they could find no inflammable matter, or the leaſt ſign of fire, but a real ſtone, which though large, was nothing to the ſize of that fiery globe they had ſeen in the ſky, but appeared only as a bit crumbled from it. It is plain, that Damachus muſt have very indulgent readers, if this account of his gains credit. If it is a true one, it abſolutely refutes thoſe who ſay, that this ſtone was nothing but a rock rent by a tempeſt from the top of a mountain, which, after being borne for ſome time in the air by a whirlwind, ſettled in the firſt place where the violence of that abated. Perhaps at laſt, this phænomenon which continued ſo many days, was a real globe of fire, and when that globe came to diſperſe and draw towards extinction, it might cauſe ſuch a change in the air, and produce ſuch a violent whirlwind, as tore the ſtone from its native bed, and daſhed it on the plain. But theſe are diſcuſſions that belong to writings of another nature.

When the three thouſand Athenian priſoners were condemned by the council to die, Lyſander called Philocles, one of the generals, and aſked him what puniſhment he thought he deſerved, who had given his citizens ſuch cruel advice with reſpect to the Greeks? Philocles, undiſmayed by his misfortunes, made anſwer, "Do not ſtart a queſtion, "where there is no judge to decide it; but now you are a "conqueror, proceed, as you would have been proceeded "with, had you been conquered." After this he bathed, and dreſſed himſelf in a rich robe, and then led his countrymen to execution, being the firſt, according to Theophraſtus, who offered his neck to the axe.

Lyſander next viſited the maritime towns, and ordered all the Athenians he found, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens. His deſign was, that the crowds he drove into the city, might ſoon occaſion a famine, and ſo prevent the trouble of a long ſiege, which muſt have been the caſe, if proviſions had been plentiful. Wherever he came, he aboliſhed the democratic, and other forms of government, and ſet up a Lacedæmonian governor, called *Harmoſtes*,

aſſiſted by ten archons, who were to be drawn from the ſocieties he eſtabliſhed. Theſe changes he made as he ſailed about at his leiſure, not only in the enemy's cities, but in thoſe of his allies, and by this means in a manner engroſſed to himſelf the principality of all Greece. For in appointing governors he had no regard to family or opulence, but choſe them from among his own friends, or out of the brotherhoods he had erected, and inveſted them with full power of life and death. He even aſſiſted in perſon at executions, and drove out all that oppoſed his friends and favorites. Thus he gave the Greeks a very indifferent ſpecimen of the Lacedæmonian government. Therefore, Theopompus,* the comic writer, was under a great miſtake, when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who at firſt gave Greece a delightful draught of liberty, but afterwards daſhed the wine with vinegar. The draught from the beginning was diſagreeable and bitter; for Lyſander not only took the adminiſtration out of the hands of the people, but compoſed his oligarchies of the boldeſt and moſt factious of the citizens.

When he had diſpatched this buſineſs, which did not take up any long time, he ſent meſſengers to Lacedæmon, with an account that he was returning with two hundred ſhips. He went, however, to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pauſanias, in expectation of the immediate ſurrender of Athens. But finding that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he croſſed over again to Aſia. There he made the ſame alteration in the government of cities, and ſet up his decemvirate, after having ſacrificed in each city, a number of people, and forced others to quit their country. As for the Samians,† he expelled them all, and delivered their towns to the perſons whom they had baniſhed. And when he had taken Seſtos out of the hands of the Athenians, he drove out the Seſtians too, and divided both the city and territory among his pilots and boatſwains. This was the firſt ſtep of his which the Lacedæmonians diſapproved; they annulled what he

* Muretus ſhows from a paſſage in Theodorus Metochites, that we ſhould read here *Theopompus the hiſtorian*, inſtead of *Theopompus the comic writer*.

† Theſe things did not happen in the order they are here related. Samos was not taken till a conſiderable time after the long walls of Athens were demoliſhed. *Xenoph. Hellen.* ii.

had done, and reſtored the Seſtians to their country. But in other reſpects the Grecians were well ſatisfied with Lyſander's conduct. They ſaw with pleaſure the Æginetæ recovering their city, of which they had long been diſpoſſeſſed, and the Melians and Scionæans reeſtabliſhed by him, while the Athenians were driven out, and gave up their claims.

By this time, he was informed that Athens was greatly diſtreſſed with famine; upon which he ſailed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to ſurrender at diſcretion. The Lacedæmonians ſay, that Lyſander wrote an account of it to the *ephori* in theſe words: "Athens is taken;" to which they returned this anſwer, "If it is taken, that is ſufficient." But this was only an invention to make the matter look more plauſible. The real decree of the *ephori* ran thus: "The Lacedæmonians have come to theſe reſolu-"tions: You ſhall pull down the Piræus and the long "walls; quit all the cities you are poſſeſſed of, and keep "within the bounds of Attica. On theſe conditions you "ſhall have peace, provided you pay what is reaſonable, "and reſtore the exiles*. As for the number of ſhips you "are to keep, you muſt comply with the orders we ſhall "give you."

The Athenians ſubmitted to this decree, upon the advice of Theramenes the ſon of Ancon†. On this occaſion, we are told, Cleomenes, one of the young orators, thus addreſſed him: "Dare you go contrary to the ſentiments "of Themiſtocles, by delivering up thoſe walls to the La-"cedæmonians, which he built in defiance of them?" Theramenes anſwered, "Young man, I do not in the "leaſt counteract the intention of Themiſtocles; for he "built the walls for the preſervation of the citizens, and "we for the ſame purpoſe demoliſh them. If walls only "could make a city happy and ſecure, Sparta, which has "none, would be the unhappieſt in the world."

After Lyſander had taken from the Athenians all their ſhips, except twelve, and their fortifications were delivered up to him, he entered their city on the ſixteenth of the

* The Lacedæmonians knew that if the Athenian exiles were reſtored, they would be friends and partizans of theirs; and if they were not reſtored, they ſhould have a pretext for diſtreſſing the Athenians when they pleaſed.

† Or Agnon.

month Munychion (April ;) the very day they had overthrown the barbarians in the naval fight at Salamis. He preſently ſet himſelf to change their form of government; and finding that the people reſented his propoſal, he told them, "That they had violated the terms of their capitulation; for their walls were ſtill ſtanding, after the "time fixed for the demoliſhing of them was paſt; and "that, ſince they had broken the firſt articles, they muſt "expect new ones from the council." Some ſay, he really did propoſe in the council of the allies, to reduce the Athenians to ſlavery; and that Erianthus, a Theban officer, gave it as his opinion, that the city ſhould be levelled with the ground, and that the ſpot on which it ſtood, turned to paſturage.

Afterwards, however, when the general officers met at an entertainment, a muſician of Phocis happened to begin a *chorus* in the electra of Euripides, the firſt lines of which are theſe——

> Unhappy daughter of the great Atrides,
> Thy ſtraw crown'd palace I approach.

The whole company were greatly moved at this incident, and could not help reflecting how barbarous a thing it would be to raze that noble city, which had produced ſo many great and illuſtrious men. Lyſander, however, finding the Athenians entirely in his power, collected the muſicians in the city, and having joined to them the band belonging to the camp, pulled down the walls, and burned the ſhips to the ſound of their inſtruments; while the confederates, crowned with flowers, danced, and hailed the day as the firſt of their liberty.

Immediately after this, he changed the form of their government, appointing thirty archons in the city, and ten in the Piræus, and placing a garriſon in the citadel, the command of which he gave to a Spartan, named Callibius. This Callibius, on ſome occaſion or other, lifted up his ſtaff to ſtrike Autolycus, a wreſtler whom Xenophon has mentioned in his *Sympoſiacs*; upon which, Autolycus ſeized him by the legs, and threw him upon the ground. Lyſander, inſtead of reſenting this, told Callibius, by way of reprimand, "He knew not they were freemen, whom he "had to govern." The thirty tyrants, however, in complaiſance to Callibius, ſoon after put Autolycus to death.

Lyſander*, when he had ſettled theſe affairs, ſailed to Thrace†. As for the money that remained in his coffers, the crowns and other preſents, which were many and very conſiderable, as may well be imagined, ſince his power was ſo extenſive, and he was in a manner maſter of all Greece, he ſent them to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had the chief command in Sicily. Gylippus, they tell us, opened the bags at the bottom, and took a conſiderable ſum out of each, and then ſewed them up again; but he was not aware that in every bag there was a note which gave account of the ſum it contained. As ſoon as he arrived at Sparta, he hid the money he had taken out, under the tiles of his houſe, and then delivered the bags to the *ephori*, with the ſeals entire. They opened them, and counted the money, but found that the ſum differed from the bills. At this they were not a little embarraſſed, till a ſervant of Gylippus told them enigmatically, "a great "number of owls rooſted in the Ceramicus‡." Moſt of the coin then bore the impreſſion of an owl, in reſpect to the Athenians.

Gylippus, having ſullied his former great and glorious actions by ſo baſe and unworthy a deed, quitted Lacedæmon. On this occaſion in particular, the wiſeſt among the Spartans obſerved the influence of money, which would corrupt not only the meaneſt, but the moſt reſpectable citizens, and therefore were very warm in their reflections upon Lyſander for introducing it. They inſiſted too, that the *ephori* ſhould ſend out all the ſilver and gold, as evils deſtructive in the proportion they were alluring.

In purſuance of this, a council was called, and a decree propoſed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or according to Ephorus, by Plogidas, "That no coin, whether "of gold or ſilver, ſhould be admitted into Sparta, but "that they ſhould uſe the money that had long obtained." This money was of iron, dipped in vinegar, while it was

* Xenophon ſays, he went now againſt Samos.

† Plutarch ſhould have mentioned in this place the conqueſt of the iſle of Thaſos, and in what a cruel manner Lyſander, contrary to his ſolemn promiſe, maſſacred ſuch of the inhabitants as had been in the intereſt of Athens. This is related by Polyænus. But as Plutarch tells us afterwards that he behaved in this manner to the Mileſians, perhaps the ſtory is the ſame, and there may be a miſtake only in the names.

‡ Ceramicus was the name of a place in Athens. It likewiſe ſignifies the tiling of a houſe.

red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, ſo that it might not be applied to any other uſe. Beſides, it was heavy, and difficult of carriage, and a great quantity of it was but of little value. Perhaps, all the ancient money was of this kind, and conſiſted either of pieces of iron or braſs, which from their form were called *obeliſci*; whence we have ſtill a quantity of ſmall money, called *oboli*, ſix of which make a *drachma* or *handful*, that being as much as the hand can contain.

The motion for ſending out the money was oppoſed by Lyſander's party, and they procured a decree, that it ſhould be conſidered as the public treaſure, and that it ſhould be a capital crime to convert any of it to private uſes. As if Lycurgus had been afraid of the money, and not of the avarice it produces. And avarice was not ſo much prevented by forbidding the uſe of money in the occaſions of private perſons, as it was encouraged by allowing it in the public; for that added dignity to its uſe, and excited ſtrong deſires for its acquiſition. Indeed, it was not to be imagined, that while it was valued in public, it would be deſpiſed in private, or that what they found ſo advantageous to the ſtate, ſhould be looked upon of no concern to themſelves. On the contrary, it is plain, that cuſtoms depending upon national inſtitutions, much ſooner affect the lives and manners of individuals, than the errors and vices of individuals corrupt a whole nation. For, when the whole is diſtempered, the parts muſt be affected too; but when the diſorder ſubſiſts only in ſome private parts, it may be corrected and remedied by thoſe that have not yet received the infection. So that theſe magiſtrates, while they ſet guards, I mean law and fear of puniſhment, at the doors of the citizens, to hinder the entrance of money, did not keep their minds untainted with the love of it; they rather inſpired that love, by exhibiting wealth as a great and admirable thing. But we have cenſured this conduct of theirs in another place.

Lyſander, out of the ſpoils he had taken, erected at Delphi his own ſtatue, and thoſe of his officers in braſs; he alſo dedicated in gold the ſtars of Caſtor and Pollux, which diſappeared* before the battle of Leuctra. The

* They were ſtolen. Plutarch mentions it as an omen of the dreadful loſs the Spartans were to ſuffer in that battle.

galley made of gold and ivory*, which Cyrus ſent in congratulation of his victory, and which was two cubits long, was placed in the treaſury of Braſidas and the Acanthians. Alexandrides of Delphi writes†, that Lyſander depoſited there a talent of ſilver, fiftytwo *minæ*, and eleven *ſtaters*; but this is not agreeable to the accounts of his poverty we have from all hiſtorians.

Though Lyſander had now attained to greater power than any Grecian before him, yet the pride and loftineſs of his heart exceeded it. For he was the firſt of the Grecians, according to Duris, to whom altars were erected by ſeveral cities, and ſacrifices offered as to a god‡. To Lyſander two hymns were firſt ſung, one of which began thus——

> To the fam'd leader of the Grecian bands,
> From Sparta's ample plains! ſing Io pæan!

Nay, the Samians decreed, that the feaſts which they had uſed to celebrate in honor of Juno, ſhould be called the feaſt of Lyſander. He always kept the Spartan poet Chœrilus in his retinue ‖, that he might be ready to add luſtre to his actions by the power of verſe. And when Antilochus had written ſome ſtanzas in his praiſe, he was ſo delighted that he gave him his hatful of ſilver. Antimachus of Colophon, and Niceratus of Heraclea, compoſed each a panegyric that bore his name, and conteſted in form for the prize. He adjudged the crown to Niceratus, at

* So Ariſtobulus, the Jewiſh prince, preſented Pompey with a golden vineyard or garden, valued at five hundred talents. That vineyard was conſecrated in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, as this galley was at Delphi.

† This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote an account of the offerings ſtolen from the temple at Delphi.

‡ What incenſe the meanneſs of human nature can offer to one of their own ſpecies! nay, to one who having no regard to honor or virtue, ſcarce deſerved the name of a man! The Samians worſhipped him, as the Indians do the devil, that he might do them no more hurt; that after one dreadful ſacrifice to his cruelty, he might ſeek no more.

‖ There were three poets of this name, but their works are all loſt. The firſt, who was of Samos, ſung the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes. He flouriſhed about the ſeventyfifth Olympiad. The ſecond was this Chœrilus of Sparta, who flouriſhed about ſeventy years after the firſt. The third was he who attended Alexander the Great, above ſeventy years after the time of Lyſander's Chœrilus.

which Antimachus* was ſo much offended, that he ſuppreſſed his poem. Plato, who was then very young, and a great admirer of Antimachus's poetry, addreſſed him while under this chagrin, and told him by way of conſolation, "That the ignorant are ſufferers by their ignorance, "as the blind are by their want of ſight." Ariſtonous, the lyriſt, who had ſix times won the prize at the Pythian games, to pay his court to Lyſander, promiſed him, that if he was once more victorious, he would declare himſelf Lyſander's retainer, or even his ſlave.

Lyſander's ambition was a burden only to the great, and to perſons of equal rank with himſelf. But that arrogance and violence which grew into his temper along with his ambition, from the flatteries with which he was beſieged, had a more extenſive influence. He ſet no moderate bounds either to his favor or reſentment. Governments unlimited and unexamined, were the rewards of any friendſhip or hoſpitality he had experienced, and the ſole puniſhment that could appeaſe his anger, was the death of his enemy; nor was there any way to eſcape.

There was an inſtance of this at Miletus. He was afraid that the leaders of the plebian party there would ſecure themſelves by flight; therefore, to draw them from their retreats, he took an oath, not to do any of them the leaſt injury. They truſted him, and made their appearance; but he immediately delivered them to the oppoſite party, and they were put to death, to the number of eight hundred. Infinite were the cruelties he exerciſed in every city, againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected of any inclination to popular government. For he not only conſulted his own paſſions, and gratified his own revenge, but cooperated, in this reſpect, with the reſentments and avarice of all his friends. Hence it was, that the ſaying of Eteocles the Lacedæmonian was reckoned a good one, "That "Greece could not bear two Lyſanders." Theophraſtus, indeed, tells us, that Archiſtratus† had ſaid the ſame thing of Alcibiades. But inſolence, luxury, and vanity, were the moſt diſagreeable part of his character; where-

* According to others, he was of Clares. He was reckoned next to Homer in heroic poetry. But ſome thought him too pompous and verboſe.

† It ſhould be read Archeſtratus.

as Lyſander's power was attended with a cruelty and ſavageneſs of manners that rendered it unſupportable.

There were many complaints againſt him, which the Lacedæmonians paid no regard to. However, when Pharnabazus ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to repreſent the injury he had received from the depredations committed in his province, the *ephori* were incenſed, and put Thorax, one of his friends and colleagues to death, having found ſilver in his poſſeſſion, contrary to the late law. They likewiſe ordered Lyſander home by their *ſcytale*, the nature and uſe of which was this: Whenever the magiſtrates ſent out an admiral or a general, they prepared two round pieces of wood with ſo much exactneſs, that they were perfectly equal both in length and thickneſs. One of theſe they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to the officer then employed. Theſe pieces of wood were called *ſcytale*. When they had any ſecret and important orders to convey to him, they took a long narrow ſcroll of parchment, and rolled it about their own ſtaff, one fold cloſe to another, and then wrote their buſineſs on it. This done they took off the ſcroll, and ſent it to the general. As ſoon as he received it, he applied it to his ſtaff, which being juſt like that of the magiſtrates, all the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they did at the writing; and though, before, the characters were ſo broken and disjointed, that nothing could be made of them, they now became plain and legible. The parchment as well as the ſtaff, is called *ſcytale*, as the thing meaſured bears the name of the meaſure.

Lyſander, who was then in the Helleſpont, was much alarmed at the *ſcytale*. Pharnabazus being the perſon whoſe impeachment he moſt dreaded, he haſtened to an interview with him, in hopes of being able to compoſe their differences. When they met, he deſired him to ſend another account to the magiſtrates, ſignifying that he neither had nor made any complaint. He was not aware (as the proverb has it) that "He was playing the Cretan with a "Cretan." Pharnabazus promiſed to comply with his requeſt, and wrote a letter in his preſence agreeable to his directions, but had contrived to have another by him to a quite contrary effect. When the letter was to be ſealed, he palmed that upon him which he had written privately, and which exactly reſembled it. Lyſander upon his arrival at Lacedæmon, went, according to cuſtom, to the ſenate

houſe, and delivered Pharnabazus's letter to the magiſtrates; aſſuring himſelf that the heavieſt charge was removed. For he knew that the Lacedæmonians paid a particular attention to Pharnabazus, becauſe, of all the king's lieutenants, he had done them the greateſt ſervices in the war. When the *ephori* had read the letter, they ſhowed it to Lyſander. He now found to his coſt that "others have art beſides Ulyſſes," and in great confuſion left the ſenate houſe.

A few days after, he applied to the magiſtrates, and told them he was obliged to go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and offer the ſacrifices he had vowed before his battles. Some ſay, that when he was beſieging the city of the Aphytæans in Thrace, Ammon actually appeared to him in a dream, and ordered him to raiſe the ſiege; that he complied with that order, and bade the Aphytæans ſacrifice to Ammon; and for the ſame reaſon now haſtened to pay his devotions to that deity in Libya. But it was generally believed, that he only uſed the deity as a pretext, and that the true reaſon of his retiring was his fear of the *ephori*, and his averſion to ſubjection. He choſe rather to wander in foreign countries, than to be controled at home. His haughty ſpirit was like that of an horſe, which has long ranged the paſtures at liberty, and returns with reluctance to the ſtall, and to his former burden. As for the reaſon which Ephorus aſſigns for this voyage, I ſhall mention it by and by.

With much difficulty he got leave of the *ephori* to depart, and took his voyage. While he was upon it, the kings conſidered that it was by means of the aſſociations he had formed, that he held the cities in ſubjection, and was in effect maſter of all Greece. They reſolved, therefore, to drive out his friends, and reeſtabliſh the popular governments. This occaſioned new commotions. Firſt of all, the Athenians, from the caſtle of Phyle*, attacked the thirty tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this, Lyſander returned, and perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to ſupport the oligarchies, and to chaſtiſe the people; in conſequence of which, they remitted an hundred talents to the tyrants, to enable them to carry on the war, and ap-

* A caſtle above Athens, ſtrongly ſituated. Xenophon often mentions it in the ſecond book of his Grecian Hiſtory.

pointed Lyſander himſelf their general. But the envy with which the kings were actuated, and their fear that he would take Athens a ſecond time, led them to determine, that one of them ſhould attend the expedition. Accordingly Pauſanias marched into Attica, in appearance to ſupport the thirty tyrants againſt the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, leſt Lyſander, by his intereſt in Athens, ſhould become maſter of it again. This he eaſily effected. By reconciling the Athenians among themſelves, and compoſing the tumults, he clipt the wings of Lyſander's ambition. Yet, as the Athenians revolted ſoon after, Pauſanias was blamed for taking the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and letting them grow bold and inſolent again. On the contrary, it added to the reputation of Lyſander; he was now conſidered as a man who took not his meaſures, either through favor or oſtentation, but in all his operations, how ſevere ſoever, kept a ſtrict and ſteady eye upon the intereſts of Sparta.

Lyſander, indeed, had a ferocity in his expreſſions as well as actions, which confounded his adverſaries. When the Argives had a diſpute with him about their boundaries, and thought their plea better than that of the Lacedæmonians, he ſhowed them his ſword, and ſaid, "He "that is maſter of this, can beſt plead about boundaries."

When a citizen of Megara treated him with great freedom in a certain converſation, he ſaid, "My friend, thoſe "words of thine ſhould not come but from ſtrong walls "and bulwarks."

When the Bœotians heſitated upon ſome propoſitions he made them, he aſked them, "Whether he ſhould trail, "or puſh his pikes amongſt them."

The Corinthians having deſerted the league, he advanced up to their walls, but the Lacedæmonians, he found, were very loth to begin the aſſault. A hare juſt then happening to ſtart out of the trenches, he took occaſion to ſay, "Are you not aſhamed to dread thoſe enemies, who are "ſo idle that the very hares ſit in quiet under their walls?"

When king Agis paid the laſt tribute to nature, he left behind him a brother named Ageſilaus, and a reputed ſon named Leotychidas. Lyſander, who had regarded Ageſilaus, with an extraordinary affection, perſuaded him to lay claim to the crown, as a genuine deſcendant of Hercules; whereas Leotychidas was ſuſpected to be the ſon of Alci-

biades, and the fruit of a private commerce which he had with Timæa, the wife of Agis, during his exile in Sparta. Agis, they tell us, from his computation of the time, concluded that the child was not his, and therefore took no notice of Leotychidas, but rather openly disavowed him through the whole course of his life. However, when he fell sick, and was carried to Heræa*, he was prevailed upon by the entreaties of the youth himself, and of his friends, before he died, to declare before many witnesses that Leotychidas was his lawful son. At the same time, he desired all persons present to testify these his last words to the Lacedæmonians, and then immediately expired.

Accordingly, they gave their testimony in favor of Leotychidas. As for Agesilaus, he was a man of uncommon merit, and supported besides by the interest of Lysander, but his affairs were near being ruined by Diophites, a famous interpreter of oracles, who applied this prophecy to his lameness :—— ,

Beware, proud Sparta, left a maimed empire†
Thy boasted strength impair ; for other woes
Than thou behold'st await thee---borne away
By the strong tide of war.——

Many believed this interpretation, and were turning to Leotychidas. But Lysander observed, that Diophites had mistaken the sense of the oracle ; for that the Deity did not give himself any concern about their being governed by a lame king, but meant that their government would be lame, if spurious persons should wear the crown amongst the race of Hercules. Thus, partly by his address, and partly by his interest, he prevailed upon them to give the preference to Agesilaus, and he was declared king.

Lysander immediately pressed him to carry the war into Asia, encouraging him with the hope of destroying the Persian monarchy, and becoming himself the greatest of

* Xenophon (l. ii) tells us that Agis fell sick at Heræa, a city of Arcadia, on his way from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta, and died there.

† The oracle considered the two kings of Sparta, as its two legs, the supports of its freedom ; which in fact they were, by being a check upon each other. The Lacedæmonians were, therefore, admonished to beware of a *lame government*, of having their republic converted into a monarchy ; which, indeed, proved their ruin at last. Vide *Justin* l. vi.

mankind. He likewiſe ſent inſtructions to his friends in Aſia, to petition the Lacedæmonians, to give Ageſilaus the conduct of the war againſt the barbarians. They complied with his order, and ſent ambaſſadors to Lacedæmon for that purpoſe. Indeed, this command which Lyſander procured Ageſilaus, ſeems to have been an honor equal to the crown itſelf. But ambitious ſpirits, though in other reſpects not unfit for affairs of ſtate, are hindered from many great actions, by the envy they bear their fellow candidates for fame. For thus they make thoſe their adverſaries who would otherwiſe have been their aſſiſtants in the courſe of glory.

Ageſilaus took Lyſander with him, made him one of his thirty counſellors, and gave him the firſt rank in his friendſhip. But when they came into Aſia, Ageſilaus found that the people, being unacquainted with him, ſeldom applied to him, and were very ſhort in their addreſſes; whereas Lyſander, whom they had long known, had them always at his gates or in his train, ſome attending out of friendſhip, and others out of fear. Juſt as it happens in tragedies, that a principal actor repreſents a meſſenger or a ſervant, and is admired in that character, while he who bears the diadem and ſceptre, is hardly liſtened to when he ſpeaks; ſo in this caſe the counſellor engroſſed all the honor, and the king had the title of commander without the power.

Doubtleſs this unſeaſonable ambition of Lyſander deſerved correction, and he was to be made to know that the ſecond place only belonged to him. But entirely to caſt off a friend and benefactor, and, from a jealouſy of honor, to expoſe him to ſcorn, was a ſtep unworthy the character of Ageſilaus. He began with taking buſineſs out of his hands, and making it a point not to employ him on any occaſion where he might diſtinguiſh himſelf. In the next place, thoſe for whom Lyſander intereſted himſelf, were ſure to miſcarry, and to meet with leſs indulgence than others of the meaneſt ſtation. Thus the king gradually undermined his power.

When Lyſander found that he failed in all his applications, and that his kindneſs was only an hindrance to his friends, he deſired them to forbear their addreſſes to him, and to wait only upon the king, or the preſent diſpenſers of his favors. In conſequence of this, they gave him no

farther trouble about buſineſs, but ſtill continued their attentions, and joined him in the public walks and other places of reſort. This gave Ageſilaus more pain than ever, and his envy and jealouſy continually increaſed; inſomuch that while he gave commands and governments to common ſoldiers, he appointed Lyſander his carver. Then to inſult the Ionians, he bade them "go and make their court "to his carver."

Hereupon, Lyſander determined to come to an explanation with him, and their diſcourſe was very laconic:— "Truly Ageſilaus, you know very well how to tread up- "on your friends." "Yes," ſaid he, "when they want "to be greater than myſelf. It is but fit that thoſe who are "willing to advance my power, ſhould ſhare it." "Per- "haps," ſaid Lyſander, "this is rather what you ſay, "than what I did. I beg of you, however, for the ſake "of ſtrangers who have their eyes upon us, that you will "put me in ſome poſt, where I may be leaſt obnoxious, "and moſt uſeful to you."

Agreeably to this requeſt, the lieutenancy of the Helleſpont was granted him; and though he ſtill retained his reſentment againſt Ageſilaus, he did not neglect his duty. He found Spithridates,* a Perſian remarkable for his valor, and with an army at his command, at variance with Pharnabazus, and perſuaded him to revolt to Ageſilaus. This was the only ſervice he was employed upon; and when this commiſſion was expired, he returned to Sparta, in great diſgrace, highly incenſed againſt Ageſilaus, and more diſpleaſed than ever with the whole frame of government. He reſolved, therefore, now, without any further loſs of time, to bring about the change he had long meditated in the conſtitution.

When the Heraclidæ mixed with the Dorians, and ſettled in Peloponneſus, there was a large and flouriſhing tribe of them at Sparta. The whole, however, were not entitled to the regal ſucceſſion, but only two families, the Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ; while the reſt had no ſhare in the adminiſtration on account of their high birth. For as to the common rewards of virtue, they were open to all men of diſtinguiſhed merit. Lyſander, who was of this lineage,

* So Zonophon calls him, not Mithridates, the common reading in Plutarch. Indeed, ſome manuſcripts have it Spithridates in the life of Ageſilaus.

no ſooner ſaw himſelf exalted by his great actions, and ſupported with friends and power, but he became uneaſy to think that a city which owed its grandeur to him, ſhould be ruled by others no better deſcended than himſelf. Hence he entertained a deſign to alter the ſettlement which confined the ſucceſſion to two families only, and to lay it open to all the Heraclidæ. Some ſay his intention was to extend this high honor not only to all the Heraclidæ, but to all the citizens of Sparta; that it might not ſo much belong to the poſterity of Hercules, as to thoſe who reſembled Hercules in that virtue which numbered him with the gods. He hoped too, that when the crown was ſettled in this manner, no Spartan would have better pretentions than himſelf.

At firſt he prepared to draw the citizens into his ſcheme, and committed to memory an oration written by Cleon of Halicarnaſſus for that purpoſe. But he ſoon ſaw that ſo great and difficult a reformation required bolder and more extraordinary methods to bring it to bear. And as in tragedy machinery is made uſe of, where more natural means will not do, ſo he reſolved to ſtrike the people with oracles and propheſies; well knowing that the eloquence of Cleon would avail but little, unleſs he firſt ſubdued their minds with divine ſanctions and the terrors of ſuperſtition. Ephorus tells us, he firſt attempted to corrupt the prieſteſs of Delphi, and afterwards thoſe of Dodona by means of one Pherecles; and having no ſucceſs in either application, he went himſelf to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the prieſts large ſums of gold. They too rejected his offers with indignation, and ſent deputies to Sparta to accuſe him of that crime. When theſe Lybians found he was acquitted, they took their leave of the Spartans in this manner—"We will paſs better judgments, when you come "to live among us in Lybia." It ſeems, there was an ancient prophecy, that the Lacedæmonians would ſome time or other ſettle in Africa. The whole ſcheme of Lyſander's was of no ordinary texture, nor took its riſe from accidental circumſtances, but was laid deep, and conducted with uncommon art and addreſs; ſo that it may be compared to a mathematical demonſtration, in which, from ſome principles firſt aſſumed, the concluſion is deducted through a variety of abſtruſe and intricate ſteps.

We ſhall, therefore, explain it at large, taking Ephorus, who was both an hiſtorian and philoſopher, for our guide.

There was a woman in Pontus, who gave it out that ſhe was pregnant by Apollo. Many rejected her aſſertion, and many believed it. So that when ſhe was delivered of a ſon, ſeveral perſons of the greateſt eminence took particular care of his education, and for ſome reaſon or other gave him the name of Silenus. Lyſander took this miraculous birth for a foundation, and raiſed all his building upon it.

He made choice of ſuch aſſiſtance, as might bring the ſtory into reputation, and put it beyond ſuſpicion. Then he got another ſtory propagated at Delphi and ſpread at Sparta, "That certain ancient oracles were kept in the "private regiſters of the prieſts, which it was not lawful "to touch or to look upon, till in ſome future age a per-"ſon ſhould ariſe, who could clearly prove himſelf the "ſon of Apollo, and he was to interpret and publiſh "thoſe oracles." The way thus prepared, Silenus was to make his appearance, as the ſon of Apollo, and demand the oracles. The prieſts, who were in combination, were to inquire into every article, and examine him ſtrictly as to his birth. At laſt they were to pretend to be convinced of his divine parentage, and to ſhow him the books. Silenus then was to read in public all thoſe prophecies, particularly that for which the whole deſign was ſet on foot; namely, "That it would be more for the "honor and intereſt of Sparta to ſet aſide the preſent race "of kings, and chooſe others out of the beſt and moſt "worthy men in the commonwealth." But when Silenus was grown up, and came to undertake his part, Lyſander had the mortification to ſee his piece miſcarry by the cowardice of one of the actors, whoſe heart failed him juſt as the thing was going to be put in execution. However nothing of this was diſcovered while Lyſander lived.

He died before Ageſilaus returned from Aſia, after he had engaged his country, or rather involved all Greece, in the Bœotian war. It is indeed related variouſly, ſome laying the blame upon him, ſome upon the Thebans, and others upon both. Thoſe who charge the Thebans with it, ſay, they overturned the altar, and profaned the ſacrifice*

* Beſide this affair of the ſacrifice, the Lacedæmonians were offended at the Thebans, for their claiming the tenth of the treaſure ta-

Ageſilaus was offering at Aulus; and that Androclides and Amphitheus, being corrupted with Perſian money,* attacked the Phocians, and laid waſte their country, in order to draw upon the Lacedæmonians the Grecian war. On the other hand they who make Lyſander the author of the war, inform us, he was highly diſpleaſed, that the Thebans only, of all the confederates, ſhould claim the tenth of the Athenian ſpoils taken at Decelea, and complain of his ſending the money to Sparta. But what he moſt reſented, was, their putting the Athenians in a way of delivering themſelves from the thirty tyrants, whom he had ſet up. The Lacedæmonians, to ſtrengthen the hands of thoſe tyrants, and make them more formidable, had decreed, "That if any Athenian fled out of the city, he ſhould be "apprehended wherever he was found, and obliged to re-"turn; and that whoever oppoſed the taking ſuch fugi-"tives, ſhould be treated as enemies to Sparta." The Thebans on that occaſion gave out orders, that deſerve to be enrolled with the actions of Hercules and Bacchus. They cauſed proclamation to be made, "That every houſe and "city ſhould be open to ſuch Athenians as deſired protec-"tion; that whoever refuſed aſſiſtance to a fugitive that was "ſeized, ſhould be fined a talent; and that if any one "ſhould carry arms through Bœotia againſt the Athenian "tyrants, he ſhould not meet with the leaſt moleſtation." Nor were their actions unſuitable to theſe decrees ſo humane and ſo worthy of Grecians. When Thraſybulus and his company ſeized the caſtle of Phyle, and laid the plan of their other operations, it was from Thebes they ſet out; and the Thebans not only ſupplied them with arms and

ken at Decelea; as well as for refuſing to attend them in their expedition againſt the Piræus, and diſſuading the Corinthians from joining in that enterpriſe. Indeed, the Thebans began to be jealous of the growing power of the Lacedæmonians, and did not want to ſee the Athenians, whoſe weight had been conſiderable in the balance of power, entirely ruined. *Xenoph.* Gr. Hiſt. l. iii.

* Theſe were not the only perſons who had taken the Perſian money. Tithrauſtes, alarmed at the progreſs Ageſilaus was making in Aſia, ſent Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents to be diſtributed among the leading men in the ſtates of Greece. Thoſe of Corinth and Argos had their ſhare as well as the Thebans. In conſequence of this, the Thebans perſuaded the Locrians to pillage a tract of land that was in diſpute between the Phocians and the Thebans. The Phocians made repriſals. The Thebans ſupported the Locrians. Whereupon the Phocians applied to the Spartans, and the war became general.

money, but gave them a kind reception and every encouragement. Theſe were the grounds of Lyſander's reſentment againſt them.

He was naturally prone to anger, and the melancholy that grew upon him with years, made him ſtill more ſo. He therefore importuned the *ephori* to ſend him againſt the Thebans. Accordingly he was employed, and marched out at the head of one army, and Pauſanias was ſoon ſent after him with another. Pauſanias took a circuit by mount Cithæron, to enter Bœotia, and Lyſander went through Phocis with a very conſiderable force to meet him. The city of Orthomenus was ſurrendered to him, as he was upon his march, and he took Lebadia by ſtorm, and plundered it. From thence he ſent letters to Pauſanias, to deſire him to remove from Platæa, and join him at Haliartus; for he intended to be there himſelf by break of day. But the meſſenger was taken by a Theban reconnoitring party, and the letters were carried to Thebes. Hereupon, the Thebans intruſted their city with a body of Athenian auxiliaries, and marched out themſelves about midnight for Haliartus. They reached the town a little before Lyſander, and entered it with part of their forces. Lyſander at firſt thought proper to encamp upon an eminence, and wait for Pauſanias. But when the day began to decline, he grew impatient, and ordered the Lacedæmonians and confederates to arms. Then he led out his troops in a direct line along the high road up to the walls. The Thebans who remained without, taking the city on the left, fell upon his rear, at the fountain called Ciſſuſa.*

It is fabled that the nurſes of Bacchus waſhed him in this fountain immediately after his birth. The water is, indeed, of a bright and ſhining color like wine, and a moſt agreeable taſte. Not far off grow the Cretan canes† of which javelins are made; by which the Haliartians would prove that Rhadamanthus dwelt there. Beſides, they ſhow his tomb, which they call Alea. The monument of Alcmena too is near that place; and nothing, they ſay,

* The name of this fountain ſhould probably be corrected from Pauſanias and Strabo, and read *Tilphuſa* or *Tilphoſa*.

† Strabo tells us Haliartus was deſtroyed by the Romans in the war with Perſeus. He alſo mentions a lake near it, which produces canes or reeds, not for ſhafts of javelins, but for pipes or flutes. Plutarch too mentions the latter uſe in the life of Sylla.

can be more probable than that ſhe was buried there, becauſe ſhe married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.

The other Thebans, who had entered the city drew up with the Haliartians, and ſtood ſtill for ſome time. But when they ſaw Lyſander with his vanguard approaching the walls, they ruſhed out at the gates, and killed him, with a diviner by his ſide, and ſome few more; for the greateſt part retired as faſt as poſſible to the main body. The Thebans purſued their advantage, and preſſed upon them with ſo much ardor, that they were ſoon put to the rout, and fled to the hills. Their loſs amounted to a thouſand, and that of the Thebans to three hundred. The latter loſt their lives by chaſing the enemy into craggy and dangerous aſcents. Theſe three hundred had been accuſed of favoring the Lacedæmonians; and being determined to wipe of that ſtain, they purſued with a raſhneſs which proved fatal to themſelves.

Pauſanias received the news of this misfortune, as he was upon his march from Platæa to Theſpiæ, and he continued his route in good order to Haliartus. Thraſybulus likewiſe brought up his Athenians thither from Thebes. Pauſanias wanted a truce, that he might article for the dead; but the elder Spartans could not think of it without indignation. They went to him, and declared, "That they would never recover the body of Lyſander "by truce, but by arms; that, if they conquered, they "ſhould bring it off, and bury it with honor, and if "they were worſted, they ſhould fall glorioufly upon "ſame ſpot with their commander." Notwithſtanding theſe repreſentations of the veterans, Pauſanias ſaw it would be very difficult to beat the Thebans now flufhed with victory; and that even if he ſhould have the advantage, he could hardly without a truce carry off the body which lay ſo near the walls. He therefore ſent an herald who ſettled the conditions, and then retired with his army. As ſoon as they were got out of the confines of Bœotia, they interred Lyſander in the territories of the Penopæans, which was the firſt ground belonging to their friends and confederates. His monument ſtill remains, by the road from Delphi to Chæronea. While the Lacedæmonians had their quarters there, it is reported that a certain Phocian, who was giving an account of the action to a

friend of his that was not in it, ſaid, "The enemy fell "upon them, juſt after Lyſander had paſſed the Hoplites." While the man ſtood wondering at the account, a Spartan, a friend of Lyſander's, aſked the Phocian what he meant by *Hoplites*,* for he could make nothing of it. "I mean," ſaid he, "the place where the enemy cut "down our firſt ranks. The river that runs by the "town is called Hoplites." The Spartan when he heard this, burſt out into tears, and cried out, "How "inevitable is fate!" It ſeems, Lyſander had received an oracle couched in theſe terms—

> Fly from Hoplites, and the earth born dragon
> That ſtings thee in the rear——

Some ſay the Hoplites does not run by Haliartus, but is a brook near Coronea, which mixes with the river Phliarus, and runs along to that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but is now known by the name of Iſomantus. The Haliartian who killed Lyſander, was named Neochorus, and he bore a dragon on his ſhield, which it was ſuppoſed the oracle referred to.

They tell us too, that the city of Thebes, during the Peloponneſian war, had an oracle from the Iſmenian Apollo, which foretold the battle at Delium,† and this at Haliartus, though the latter did not happen till thirty years after the other. The oracle runs thus—

> Beware the confines of the wolf; nor ſpread
> Thy ſnares for foxes on the Orchalian hills.

The country about Delium he calls the confines, becauſe Bœotia there, borders upon Attica; and by the Orchalian hill is meant that in particular called *Alopecus*,‡ on that ſide of Helicon which looks towards Haliartus.

After the death of Lyſander, the Spartans ſo much reſented the whole behavior of Pauſanias with reſpect to that

* *Hoplites*, though the name of that river ſignifies alſo *a heavy armed ſoldier*.

† The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, was fought the firſt year of the eightyninth Olympiad, four hundred and twentytwo years before Chriſt; and that of Haliartus, full twentynine years after. But it is common for hiſtorians to make uſe of a round number, except in caſes where great preciſion is required.

‡ That is, *foxhill*.

event, that they summoned him to be tried for his life. He did not appear to answer that charge, but fled to Tegea, and took refuge in Minerva's temple, where he spent the rest of his days as her suppliant.

Lysander's poverty, which was discovered after his death, added lustre to his virtue. It was then found, that notwithstanding the money which had passed through his hands, the authority he had exercised over so many cities, and indeed the great empire he had been possessed of, he had not in the least improved his family fortune. This account we have from Theopompus, whom we more easily believe when he commends than when he finds fault; for he, as well as many others, was more inclined to censure than to praise.

Ephorus tells us, that afterwards, upon some disputes between the confederates and the Spartans, it was thought necessary to inspect the writings of Lysander, and for that purpose Agesilaus went to his house. Among the other papers, he found that political one, calculated to show how proper it would be to take the right of succession from the Eurytionidæ and Agidæ, and to elect kings from among persons of the greatest merit. He was going to produce it before the citizens, and to show what the real principles of Lysander were. But Lacratidas, a man of sense, and the principal of the *ephori*, kept him from it, by representing, "How wrong it would be to dig Lysander out "of his grave, when this oration, which was written in "so artful and persuasive a manner, ought rather to be "buried with him."

Among the other honors paid to the memory of Lysander, that which I am going to mention, is none of the least. Some persons, who had contracted themselves to his daughters in his lifetime, when they found he died poor, fell off from their engagement. The Spartans fined them for courting the alliance while they had riches in view, and breaking off when they discovered that poverty which was the best proof of Lysander's probity and justice. It seems, at Sparta there was a law which punished, not only those who continued in a state of celibacy, or married too late, but those that married ill; and it was levelled chiefly at persons who married into rich rather than good families. Such are the particulars of Lysander's life which history has supplied us with.

SYLLA.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA was of a patrician family. One of his anceſtors, named Rufinus,* is ſaid to have been conſul, but to have fallen under a diſgrace more than equivalent to that honor. He was found to have in his poſſeſſion more than ten pounds of plate, which the law did not allow, and for that was expelled the ſenate. Hence it was that his poſterity continued in a low and obſcure condition; and Sylla himſelf was born to a very ſcanty fortune. Even after he was grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a ſmall conſideration; and afterwards he was reproached with it, when he was riſen to ſuch opulence as he had no reaſon to expect. For one day as he was boaſting of the great things he had done in Africa, a perſon of character made anſwer, "How canſt "thou be an honeſt man, who art maſter of ſuch a fortune, "though thy father left the nothing?" It ſeems, though the Romans at that time did not retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but were degenerated into luxury and expenſe, yet they conſidered it as no leſs diſgraceful to have departed from family poverty, than to have ſpent a paternal eſtate. And a long time after when Sylla had made himſelf abſolute, and put numbers to death, a man who was only the ſecond of his family that was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, for concealing a friend of his that was in the proſcription, ſpoke of Sylla in this upbraiding manner:—"I am his "old acquaintance; we lived long under the ſame roof; I "hired the upper apartment at two thouſand ſeſterces, and "he that under me at three thouſand." So that the difference between their fortunes was then only a thouſand ſeſterces, which in Attic money is two hundred and fifty drachmas. Such is the account we have of his origin.

* Publius Cornelius Rufinus was twice conſul; the firſt time in the year of Rome four hundred and ſixtythree, and the ſecond thirteen years after. He was expelled the ſenate two years after his ſecond conſulſhip, when Q. Fabricius Lucinus, and Caius Æmelius Papus were cenſors. Velleius Paterculus tells us Sylla was the ſixth in deſcent from this Rufinus; which might very well be; for between the firſt conſulſhip of Rufinus and the firſt campaign of Sylla there was a ſpace of a hundred and eightyeight years.

As to his figure, we have the whole of it in his ſtatues, except his eyes. They were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing; and the ferocity of his aſpect was heightened by his complexion, which was a ſtrong red, interſperſed with ſpots of white. From his complexion, they tell us, he had the name of Sylla *; and an Athenian droll drew the following jeſt from it:

"Sylla's a mulberry, ſtrew'd o'er with meal."—Nor is it foreign to make theſe obſervations upon a man, who in his youth, before he emerged from obſcurity, was ſuch a lover of drollery, that he ſpent his time with mimics and jeſters, and went with them every length of riot. Nay, when in the height of his power, he would collect the moſt noted players and buffoons every day, and, in a manner unſuitable to his age and dignity, drink and join with them in licentious wit, while buſineſs of conſequence lay neglected. Indeed, Sylla would never admit of any thing ſerious at his table; and though at other times a man of buſineſs, and rather grave and auſtere in his manner, he would change inſtantaneouſly, whenever he had company, and began a carouſal. So that to buffoons and dancers he was the moſt affable man in the world, the moſt eaſy of acceſs, and they moulded him juſt as they pleaſed.

To this diſſipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, his diſorderly and infamous love of pleaſure, which ſtuck by him even in age. One of his miſtreſſes, named Nicopolis, was a courteſan, but very rich. She was ſo taken with his company and the beauty of his perſon, that ſhe entertained a real paſſion for him, and at her death appointed him her heir. His motherinlaw, who loved him as her own ſon, likewiſe left him her eſtate. With theſe additions to his fortune, he was tolerably provided for.

He was appointed quæſtor to Marius in his firſt conſulſhip, and went over with him into Africa, to carry on the war with Jugurtha. In the military department he gained great honor, and, among other things, availed himſelf of an opportunity to make a friend of Bocchus, king of Numidia. The ambaſſadors of that prince had juſt eſcaped out of the hands of robbers, and were in a very indifferent

* Sil or Syl is a yellow kind of earth, which, when burnt, becomes red. Hence *Syllaceus Color*, in Vitruvius, ſignifies purple.

condition, when Sylla gave them the moſt humane reception, loaded them with preſents, and ſent them back with a ſtrong guard.

Bocchus, who for a long time had both hated and feared his ſoninlaw Jugurtha, had him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat; and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, choſe rather to let Sylla ſeize him, than deliver him up himſelf. Sylla communicated the affair to Marius, and taking a ſmall party with him, ſet out upon the expedition, dangerous as it was. What, indeed, could be more ſo, than in hopes of getting another man into his power, to truſt himſelf with a barbarian who was treacherous to his own relations? In fact, when Bocchus ſaw them at his diſpoſal, and that he was under a neceſſity to betray either the one or the other, he debated long with himſelf which ſhould be the victim. At laſt, he determined to abide by his firſt reſolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

This procured Marius a triumph; but envy aſcribed all the glory of it to Sylla; which Marius in his heart not a little reſented. Eſpecially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obſcure condition, now came to general eſteem, let his ambition carry him ſo far, as to give orders for a ſignet to be engraved, with a repreſentation of this adventure, which he conſtantly uſed in ſealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. However, as he thought Sylla not conſiderable enough to be the object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus, in his ſecond conſulſhip, he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third gave him the command of a thouſand men. Sylla, in theſe ſeveral capacities, performed many important ſervices. In that of lieutenant, he took Copillus, chief of the Tectoſagæ, priſoner; and in that of tribune, he perſuaded the great and popular nation of the Marſi to declare themſelves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneaſy at his ſucceſs, and that, inſtead of giving him new occaſions to diſtinguiſh himſelf, he rather oppoſed his advancement, he applied to Catulus the colleague of Marius.

Catulus was a worthy man, but wanted that vigor which is neceſſary for action. He therefore employed Sylla in the

moſt difficult enterpriſes; which opened him a fine field both of honor and power. He ſubdued moſt of the barbarians that inhabited the Alps; and in a time of ſcarcity, undertook to procure a ſupply of proviſions; which he performed ſo effectually, that there was not only abundance in the camp of Catulus, but the overplus ſerved to relieve that of Marius.

Sylla himſelf writes, that Marius was greatly afflicted at this circumſtance. From ſo ſmall and childiſh a cauſe did that enmity ſpring, which afterwards grew up in blood, and was nouriſhed by civil wars and the rage of faction, till it ended in tyranny and the confuſion of the whole ſtate. This ſhows how wiſe a man Euripides was, and how well he underſtood the diſtempers of government, when he called upon mankind to beware of ambition, * as the moſt deſtructive of demons to thoſe that worſhip her.

Sylla by this time thought the glory he had acquired in war ſufficient to procure him a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and therefore immediately left the camp, to go and make his court to the people. The office he ſolicited, was that of the *city prætorſhip*, but he failed in the attempt. The reaſon he aſſigns is this: The people, he ſays, knowing the friendſhip between him and Bocchus, expected, if he was ædile before his prætorſhip, that he would treat them with magnificent huntings and combats of African wild beaſts, and on that account choſe other prætors, that he might be forced upon the ædileſhip. But the ſubſequent events ſhowed the cauſe alleged by Sylla not to be the true one. For the year following† he got himſelf elected prætor, partly by his aſſiduities, and partly by his money. While he bore that office, he happened to be provoked at Cæſar, and ſaid to him angrily, "I will uſe "*my* authority againſt you." Cæſar ‡ anſwered, laughing, "You do well to call it *yours*, for you bought it."

After his prætorſhip he was ſent into Cappadocia. His pretence for that expedition was the reeſtabliſhment of Ariobarzanes; but his real deſign was to reſtrain the enterpriſing ſpirit of Mithridates, who was gaining himſelf

* Phœniſſæ, v. 534.

† The year of Rome ſix hundred and fifty-ſeven.

‡ This muſt have been Sextus Julius Cæſar, who was conſul four years after Sylla's prætorſhip. Caius Julius Cæſar was only four years old when Sylla was prætor.

dominions no leſs reſpectable than his paternal ones. He did not take many troops with him out of Italy, but availed himſelf of the ſervice of the allies, whom he found well affected to the cauſe. With theſe he attacked the Cappadocians, and cut in pieces great numbers of them, and ſtill more of the Armenians, who came to their ſuccor; in conſequence of which, Gordius was driven out, and Ariobarzanes reſtored to his kingdom.

During his encampment on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus came ambaſſador to him from Arſaces, king of Parthia. There had as yet been no intercourſe between the two nations; and it muſt be conſidered as a circumſtance of Sylla's good fortune, that he was the firſt Roman to whom the Parthians applied for friendſhip and alliance. At the time of audience, he is ſaid to have ordered three chairs, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and another in the middle for himſelf. Orobazus was afterwards put to death by the king of Parthia, for ſubmitting ſo far to a Roman. As for Sylla, ſome commended his lofty behavior to the barbarians; while others blamed it, as inſolent, and out of ſeaſon.

It is reported, that a certain Chalcidian *, in the train of Orobazus, looked at Sylla's face, and obſerved very attentively the turn of his ideas, and the motions of his body. Theſe he compared with the rules of his art, and then declared, that he muſt infallibly be one day the "greateſt of men; and that it was ſtrange he could bear "to be any thing leſs at preſent."

At his return, Cenſorinus prepared to accuſe him of extortion, for drawing, contrary to law, vaſt ſums from a kingdom that was in alliance with Rome. He did not, however, bring it to a trial, but dropped the intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and Marius broke out afreſh on the following occaſion: Bocchus, to make his court to the people of Rome, and to Sylla, at the ſame time, was ſo officious as to dedicate ſeveral images of Victory in the capitol, and cloſe by them a figure of Jugurtha in gold, in the form he had delivered him up to Sylla. Marius, unable to digeſt the affront, prepared to pull them down, and

* Of Chalcis, the metropolis of Chalcidene in Syria; if Plutarch did not rather write Chaldæan.

Sylla's friends were determined to hinder it. Between them both the whole city was ſet in a flame, when the confederate war, which had long lain ſmothered, broke out, and for the preſent put a ſtop to the ſedition.

In this great war, which was ſo various in its fortune, and brought ſo many miſchiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the ſmall execution Marius did, that military ſkill requires a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution to ſecond it. Sylla, on the other hand, performed ſo many memorable things, that the citizens looked upon him as a great general, his friends as the greateſt in the world, and his enemies as the moſt fortunate. Nor did he behave, with reſpect to that notion, like Timotheus the ſon of Conon. The enemies of that Athenian aſcribed all his ſucceſs to fortune, and got a picture drawn, in which he was repreſented aſleep, and fortune by his ſide taking cities for him in her net. Upon this he gave way to an indecent paſſion, and complained that he was robbed of the glory due to his achievements. Nay, afterwards, on his return from a certain expedition, he addreſſed the people in theſe terms:—"My fellow citizens, "you muſt acknowledge that in this fortune has no ſhare." It is ſaid, the goddeſs piqued herſelf ſo far on being revenged on this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never do any thing extraordinary afterwards, but was baffled in all his undertakings, and became ſo obnoxious to the people, that they baniſhed him.

Sylla took a different courſe. It not only gave him pleaſure to hear his ſucceſs imputed to fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking it added an air of greatneſs, and even divinity, to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real perſuaſion of its truth, we cannot ſay. However, he writes in his commentaries, "That "his inſtantaneous reſolutions, and enterprizes executed in "a manner different from what he had intended, always "ſucceeded better than thoſe on which he beſtowed the "moſt time and forethought." It is plain too, from that ſaying of his, "That he was born rather for fortune than "war," that he attributed more to fortune than to valor. In ſhort, he makes himſelf entirely the creature of fortune, ſince he aſcribes to her divine influence the good underſtanding that always ſubſiſted between him and Metellus, a man in the ſame ſphere of life with himſelf, and his father-

in-law. For, whereas he expected to find him a man troublesome in office, he proved on the contrary a quiet and obliging colleague. Add to this, that in the commentaries inscribed to Lucullus, he advises him to depend upon nothing more than that which heaven directed him to in the visions of the night. He tells us farther, that when he was sent at the head of an army against the confederates, the earth opened on a sudden near Laverna;* and that there issued out of the chasm, which was very large, a vast quantity of fire, and a flame that shot up to the heavens. The soothsayers being consulted upon it, made answer, "That "a person of courage and superior beauty, should take the "reins of government into his hands, and suppress the "tumults with which Rome was then agitated." Sylla says, he was the man; for that his locks of gold were sufficient proof of his beauty, and that he needed not hesitate, after so many great actions, to avow himself a man of courage. Thus much concerning his confidence in the gods.

In other respects he was not so consistent with himself. Rapacious in a high degree, but still more liberal; in preferring or disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable; submissive to those who might be of service to him, and severe to those who wanted services from him; so that it was hard to say whether he was more insolent, or more servile in his nature. Such was his inconsistency in punishing, that he would sometimes put men to the most cruel tortures on the slightest grounds, and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes; he would easily take some persons into favor after the most unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance of others, for small and trifling faults, by death and confiscation of goods. These things can be no otherwise reconciled, than by concluding that he was severe and vindictive in his temper, but occasionally checked those inclinations where his own interest was concerned.

In this very war with the confederates, his soldiers dispatched with clubs and stones, a lieutenant of his, named Albinus, who had been honored with the prætorship; yet he suffered them, after such a crime, to escape with impunity. He only took occasion from thence to boast, that he

* In the Salarian way there was a grove and temple consecrated to the goddess Laverna.

ſhould find they would exert themſelves more during the reſt of the war, becauſe they would endeavor to atone for that offence by extraordinary acts of valor. The cenſure he incurred on this occaſion did not affect him. His great object was the deſtruction of Marius, and finding that the confederate war was drawing towards an end,* he paid his court to the army, that he may be appointed general againſt Marius. Upon his return to Rome he was elected conſul with Quinctus Pompeius, being then fifty years old, and at the ſame time he entered into an advantageous marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Metellus the high prieſt. This match occaſioned a good deal of popular cenſure. Sarcaſtical ſongs were made upon it; and, according to Livy's account, many of the principal citizens invidiouſly thought him unworthy alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the conſulſhip. This lady was not his firſt wife, for in the early part of his life, he married Ilia, by whom he had a daughter; afterwards he eſpouſed Ælia, and after her Cœlia, whom on account of her barrenneſs, he repudiated, without any other marks of diſgrace, and diſmiſſed with valuable preſents. However, as he ſoon after married Metella, the diſmiſſion of Cœlia became the object of cenſure. Metella he always treated with the utmoſt reſpect; inſomuch, that when the people of Rome were deſirous that he ſhould recal the exiles of Marius's party, and could not prevail with him, they entreated Metella to uſe her good offices for them. It was thought too, that when he took Athens, that city had harder uſage, becauſe the inhabitants had jeſted vilely on Metella from the walls. But theſe things happened afterwards.

The conſulſhip was now but of ſmall conſideration with him in compariſon of what he had in view. His heart was fixed on obtaining the conduct of the Mithridatic war. In this reſpect he had a rival in Marius, who was poſſeſſed with an illtimed ambition and madneſs for fame, paſſions which never grow old. Though now unwieldly in his perſon, and obliged, on account of his age, to give up his ſhare in the expeditions near home, he wanted the direction of foreign wars. This man, watching his opportunity in

* In the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſixtyfive.

Rome, when Sylla was gone to the camp to settle some matters that remained unfinished, framed that fatal sedition which hurt her more essentially than all the wars she had ever been engaged in. Heaven sent prodigies to prefigure it. Fire blazed out of its own accord from the ensign staves, and was with difficulty extinguished. Three ravens brought their young into the city, and devoured them there, and then carried the remains back to their nests. Some rats having knawed the consecrated gold in a certain temple, the sacristans caught one of them in a trap; where she brought forth five young ones, and eat three of them. And what was most considerable, one day when the sky was serene and clear, there was heard in it the sound of a trumpet, so loud, so shrill, and mournful, that it frightened and astonished all the world. The Tuscan sages said it portended a new race of men, and a renovation of the world. For they observed, that there were eight several kinds of men, all different in life and manners: That heaven had allotted each its time, which was limited by the circuit of the great year; and that, when one came to a period, and another race was rising, it was announced by some wonderful sign either from earth or from heaven. So that it was evident at one view to those who attended to these things, and were versed in them, that a new sort of men was come into the world, with other manners and customs, and more or less the care of the gods than those who preceded them. They added, that in this revolution of ages, many strange alterations happened; that divination, for instance, should be held in great honor in some one age, and prove successful in all its predictions, because the Deity afforded pure and perfect signs to proceed by; whereas in another it should be in small repute, being mostly extemporaneous, and calculating future events from uncertain and obscure principles. Such was the mythology of the most learned and respectable of the Tuscan soothsayers. While the senate were attending to their interpretations in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow, in sight of the whole body, brought in a grashopper in her mouth, and after she had torn it in two, left one part among them, and carried the other off. The diviners declared, they apprehended from this a dangerous sedition and dispute between the town and the country. For the inhabitants of the town are noisy like the gras-

hopper, and those of the country are domestic beings like the sparrow.*

Soon after this, Marius got Sulpitius to join him. This man was inferior to none in desperate attempts. Indeed, instead of inquiring for another more emphatically wicked, you must ask in what instance of wickedness he exceeded himself. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence and avarice, and he could commit the most horrid and infamous of crimes in cold blood. He sold the freedom of Rome openly to persons that had been slaves, as well as to strangers, and had the money told out upon a table in the *forum*. He had always about him a guard of three hundred men, well armed, and a company of young men of the equestrian order, whom he called his Antisenate. Though he got a law made that no senator should contract debts to the amount of more than two thousand drachmas, yet it appeared at his death that he owed more than three millions. This wretch was let loose upon the people by Marius, and carried all before him by dint of sword. Among other bad edicts which he procured, one was, that which gave the command in the Mithridatic war to Marius. Upon this, the consuls ordered all the courts to be shut up. But one day as they were holding an assembly before the temple of Castor and Pollux, he set his ruffians upon them, and many were slain. The son of Pompey, the consul, who was yet but a youth, was of the number. Pompey concealed himself, and saved his life. Sylla was pursued into the house of Marius, and forced from thence to the *forum*, to revoke the order for the cessation of public business. For this reason Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the consulship, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred the conduct of the war with Mithridates to Marius. In consequence of this, he immediately sent some military tribunes to Nola, to receive the army at the hands of Sylla,

* The original is obscure and imperfect in this place; consequently corrupt. It stands thus: φωναντα τας τουτου ειναι, καθαπερ τεττιγα· τους δε χωριτας, αγροικους. Bryan says it should be restored from the manuscript thus:—καθαπερ τρυζουσι τους δε χωριτας, αγροικους καθαπερ τεττιγας. According to this, the sense will be the reverse of the text—*The inhabitants of the town are noisy like the sparrow, and those of the country frequent the fields like the grashopper.*

There is, indeed, an anonymous manuscript, which gives us that reading.

and bring it to Marius: But Sylla got before them to the camp, and his ſoldiers were no ſooner acquainted with the commiſſion of thoſe officers, than they ſtoned them to death.

Marius in return dipt his hands in the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houſes to be plundered. Nothing now was to be ſeen but hurry and confuſion, ſome flying from the camp to the city, and ſome from the city to the camp. The ſenate were no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius. So that when they were informed that Sylla was marching towards Rome, they ſent two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to ſtop him. As they delivered their orders with ſome haughtineſs to Sylla, the ſoldiers prepared to kill them; but at laſt contented themſelves with breaking their faſces, tearing off their robes, and ſending them away with every mark of diſgrace.

The very ſight of them, robbed as they were of the enſigns of their authority, ſpread ſorrow and conſternation in Rome, and announced a ſedition, for which there was no longer either reſtraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force with force. Sylla moved from Nola at the head of ſix complete legions, and had his colleague along with him. His army, he ſaw, was ready at the firſt word to march to Rome, but he was unreſolved in his own mind, and apprehenſive of the danger. However, upon his offering ſacrifice, the ſoothſayer Poſthumius had no ſooner inſpected the entrails, than he ſtretched out both his hands to Sylla, and propoſed to be kept in chains till after the battle, in order for the worſt of puniſhments, if every thing did not ſoon ſucceed entirely to the general's wiſh. It is ſaid too, that their appeared to Sylla in a dream, the goddeſs whoſe worſhip the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the Moon, Minerva, or Bellona. She ſeemed to ſtand by him, and put thunder in his hand, and having called his enemies by name, one after another, bade him ſtrike them; they fell, and were conſumed by it to aſhes. Encouraged by this viſion, which he related next morning to his colleague, he took his way towards Rome.

When he had reached Picinæ,* he was met by an embaſſy, that entreated him not to advance in that hoſtile

* There being no place between Nola and Rome, called Picinæ, Lubinus thinks we ſhould read Pictæ, which was a place of public entertainment, about twentyfive miles from the capital. Strabo and Antoninus (in his Itinerary) mention it as ſuch.

manner since the senate had come to a resolution to do him all the justice he could desire. He promised to grant all they asked; and, as if they intended to encamp there, ordered his officers, as usual, to mark out the ground. The ambassadors took their leave with entire confidence in his honor. But as soon as they were gone, he dispatched Basillus and Caius Mummius to make themselves masters of the gate and the wall by the Æsquiline Mount. He himself followed with the utmost expedition. Accordingly Basillus and his party seized the gate, and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houses, and with stones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and seeing the opposition his soldiers met with, called out to them to set fire to the houses. He took a flaming torch in his own hands, and advanced before them. At the same time he ordered his archers to shoot fire arrows at the roofs. Reason had no longer any power over him; passion and fury governed all his motions; his enemies were all he thought of—and in the thirst for vengeance, he made no account of his friends, nor took the least compassion on his relations. Such was the case, when he made his way with fire, which makes no distinction between the innocent and guilty.

Meanwhile, Marius, who was driven back to the temple of Vesta, proclaimed liberty to the slaves that would repair to his standard. But the enemy pressed on with so much vigor, that he was forced to quit the city.

Sylla immediately assembled the senate, and got Marius, and a few others, condemned to death. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own slaves, and brought to the block. Sylla gave the slave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. As for Marius he set a price upon his head; in which he behaved neither with gratitude nor good policy, since he had not long before fled into the house of Marius, and put his life in his hands, and yet was dismissed in safety. Had Marius, instead of letting him go, given him up to Sulpitius, who thirsted for his blood, he might have been absolute master of Rome. But he spared his enemy; and a few days after, when there was an opportunity for his return, met not with the same generous treatment.

The senate did not express the concern which this gave them. But the people openly, and by acts, showed their

reſentment and reſolution to make repriſals. For they rejected his nephew Nonius, who relied on his recommendation, and his fellow candidate Servius, in an ignominious manner, and appointed others to the conſulſhip, whoſe promotion they thought would be moſt diſagreeable to him. Sylla pretended great ſatisfaction at the thing, and ſaid, "He was quite happy to ſee the people by his "means enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought "proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred, he propoſed Lucius Cinna, who was of the oppoſite faction, for conſul, but firſt laid him under the ſanction of a ſolemn oath, to aſſiſt him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the capitol with a ſtone in his hand. There he ſwore before all the world, to preſerve the friendſhip between them inviolable, adding this imprecation, "If I be guilty of any breach of "it, may I be driven from the city, as this ſtone is from my "hand!" at the ſame time he threw the ſtone upon the ground. Yet as ſoon as he was entered upon his office, he began to raiſe new commotions, and ſet up an impeachment againſt Sylla, of which Verginius, one of the tribunes, was to be the manager. But Sylla left both the manager and the impeachment behind him, and ſet forward againſt Mithridates.

About the time that Sylla ſet ſail from Italy, Mithridates, we are told, was viſited with many ill preſages at Pergamus. Amongſt the reſt an image of victory, bearing a crown, which was contrived to be let down by a machine, broke juſt as it was going to put the crown upon his head, and the crown itſelf was daſhed to pieces upon the floor of the theatre. The people of Pergamus were ſeized with aſtoniſhment, and Mithridates felt no ſmall concern, though his affairs then proſpered beyond his hopes. For he had taken Aſia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their reſpective kings, and was ſet down in quiet at Pergamus, diſpoſing of rich governments and kingdoms among his friends at pleaſure. As for his ſons, the eldeſt governed in peace the ancient kingdoms of Pontus and Boſphorus, extending as far as the deſerts above the Mæotic lake; the other, named Ariarathes, was ſubduing Thrace and Macedonia, with a great army. His generals, with their armies, were reducing other conſiderable places. The principal of theſe was Archelaus, who commanded the ſeas with his fleet, was conquering the Cyclades, and all the other iſlands within

the bay of Malea, and was maſter of Eubœa itſelf. He met indeed, with ſome check at Chæronea. There Brutius Sura, lieutenant to Sentius who cammanded in Macedonia, a man diſtinguiſhed by his courage and capacity, oppoſed Archelaus, who was overflowing Bœotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements near Chæronea, and confined him again to the ſea. But, as Lucius Lucullus came and ordered him to give place to Sylla, to whom that province, and the conduct of the war there were decreed, he immediately quitted Bœotia, and returned to Sentius, though his ſucceſs was beyond all that he could have flattered himſelf with, and Greece was ready again to declare for the Romans, on account of his valor and conduct. It is true, theſe were the moſt ſhining actions of Brutius's life.

When Sylla was arrived, the cities ſent ambaſſadors with an offer of opening their gates to him. Athens alone was held by its tyrant Ariſtion for Mithridates. He therefore attacked it with the utmoſt vigor, inveſted the Piræus, brought up all ſorts of engines, and left no kind of aſſault whatever unattempted. Had he waited a while, he might without the leaſt danger have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the laſt extremity. But his haſte to return to Rome, where he apprehended ſome change in affairs to his prejudice, made him run every riſk, and ſpare neither men nor money, to bring this war to a concluſion. For, beſides his other warlike equipage, he had ten thouſand yoke of mules, which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, by reaſon of the immenſe weights which broke down his machines, or their being burnt by the enemy, he cut down the ſacred groves. The ſhady walks of the Academy and the Lycæum in the ſuburbs fell before the axe. And as the war required vaſt ſums of money to ſupport it, he ſcrupled not to violate the holy treaſures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus, as well as Olympia, the moſt beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote alſo to the Amphictyones, at Delphi, "That it would be beſt for them to put the "treaſures of Apollo in his hands; for either he would "keep them ſafer than they could; or, if he applied them "to his own uſe, would return the full value." Caphis the Phocian, one of his friends, was ſent upon this commiſſion, and ordered to have every thing weighed to him.

Caphis went to Delphi, but was loth to touch the sacred depósits, and lamented to the Amphictyones the necessity he was under, with many tears. Some said, they heard the sound of the lyre in the inmost sanctuary; and Caphis, either believing it, or willing to strike Sylla with a religious terror, sent him an account of it. But he wrote back in a jesting way, "That he was surprised Caphis should "not know that music was the voice of joy, and not of "resentment. He might, therefore, boldly take the trea-"sures, since Apollo gave him them with the utmost sat-"isfaction."

These treasures were carried off, without being seen by many of the Greeks. But, of the royal offerings, there remained a silver urn, which being so large and heavy, that no carriage could bear it, the Amphictyones were obliged to cut it in pieces. At sight of this, they called to mind, one while Flaminius and Manius Acilius, and another while Paulus Æmilius; one of which having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others subdued the kings of Macedonia, not only kept their hands from spoiling the Grecian temples, but expressed their regard and reverence for them by adding new gifts. Those great men, indeed, were legally commissioned, and their soldiers were persons of sober minds, who had learnt to obey their generals without murmuring. The generals, with the magnanimity of kings, exceeded not private persons in their expenses, nor brought upon the state any charge but what was common and reasonable. In short, they thought it no less disgrace to flatter their own men, than to be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of these times raised themselves to high posts by force, not by merit; and as they wanted soldiers to fight their countrymen, rather than any foreign enemies, they were obliged to treat them with great complaisance. While they thus bought their services, at the price of ministering to their vices, they were not aware that they were selling their country; and making themselves slaves to the meanest of mankind, in order to command the greatest and the best. This banished Marius from Rome, and afterwards brought him back against Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the blood of Octavius, and Fimbria the assassin of Flaccus.

Sylla opened one of the first sources of this corruption. For, to draw the troops of other officers from them, he

laviſhly ſupplied the wants of his own. Thus, while by one and the ſame means he was inviting the former to deſertion, and the latter to luxury, he had occaſion for infinite ſums, and particularly in this ſiege. For his paſſion for taking Athens was irreſiſtibly violent; whether it was that he wanted to fight againſt that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the ſhadow now remained; or whether he could not bear the ſcoffs and taunts, with which Ariſtion in all the wantonneſs of ribaldry, inſulted him and Metella from the walls.

The compoſition of this tyrant's heart was inſolence and cruelty. He was the ſink of all the follies and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens, which had got clear of innumerable wars, tyrannies and ſeditions, periſhed at laſt by this monſter, as by a deadly diſeaſe. A buſhel* of wheat was now ſold there for a thouſand drachmas. The people eat not only the herbs and roots that grew about the citadel, but ſodden leather and oil bags; while he was indulging himſelf in riotous feaſts and dancings in the day time, or mimicking and laughing at the enemy. He let the ſacred lamp of the goddeſs go out for want of oil; and when the principal prieſteſs ſent to aſk him for half a meaſure of barley, he ſent her that quantity of pepper. The ſenators and prieſts came to entreat him to take compaſſion on the city, and capitulate with Sylla, but he received them with a ſhower of arrows. At laſt, when it was too late, he agreed with much difficulty to ſend two or three of the companions of his riots to treat of peace. Theſe inſtead of making any propoſals that tended to ſave the city, talked in a lofty manner about Theſeus, and Eumolpus, and the conqueſts of the Medes; which provoked Sylla to ſay, "Go, my noble ſouls, and take back your fine ſpeeches "with you. For my part, I was not ſent to Athens to "learn its antiquities, but to chaſtiſe its rebellious peo- "ple."

In the mean time, Sylla's ſpies heard ſome old men, who were converſing together in the Ceramicus, blame the tyrant for not ſecuring the wall near the Heptachalcos, which was the only place not impregnable. They carried this news to Sylla; and he, far from diſregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part of the wall, and found that it

* Medimnus. See the table.

might be ſcaled. He then ſet immediately about it; and he tells us in his Commentaries, that Marcus Teius* was the firſt man who mounted the wall. Teius there met with an adverſary, and gave him ſuch a violent blow on the ſkull, that he broke his ſword; notwithſtanding which he ſtood firm and kept his place.

Athens,† therefore, was taken, as the old men had foretold. Sylla having levelled with the ground all that was between the Piræan gate and that called the Sacred, entered the town at midnight, in a manner the moſt dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns ſounded, and were anſwered by the ſhouts and clang of the ſoldiers, let looſe to plunder and deſtroy. They ruſhed along the ſtreets with drawn ſwords, and horrible was the ſlaughter they made. The number of the killed could not be computed; but we may form ſome judgment of it, by the quantity of ground which was overflowed with blood. For, beſide thoſe that fell in other parts of the city, the blood that was ſhed in the market place only, covered all the Ceramicus as far as Dipylus. Nay, there are ſeveral who aſſure us, it ran through the gates, and overſpread the ſuburbs.

But though ſuch numbers were put to the ſword, there were as many who laid violent hands upon themſelves, in grief for their ſinking country. What reduced the beſt men among them to this deſpair of finding any mercy or moderate terms for Athens, was the well known cruelty of Sylla. Yet partly by the interceſſion of Midias and Calliphon, and the exiles who threw themſelves at his feet, partly by the entreaties of the ſenators who attended him in that expedition, and being himſelf ſatiated with blood beſides, he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſtop his hand; and, in compliment to the ancient Athenians, he ſaid, "He "forgave the many for the ſake of the few, the living for "the dead."

He tells us in his Commentaries, that he took Athens on the kalends of March, which falls in with the new moon in the month Anchefirion; when the Athenians were performing many rites in memory of the deſtruction of the

* Probably it ſhould be Ateius. In the life of Craſſus one Ateius is mentioned as a tribune of the people.

† Athens was taken 84 years before the birth of Chriſt.

country by water; for the deluge was believed to have happened about that time of the year.*

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was beſieged there by Curio, to whom Sylla gave the charge. He held out a conſiderable time, but at laſt was forced to ſurrender for want of water. In this the hand of Heaven was very viſible. For the very ſame day and hour that Ariſtion was brought out, the ſky, which before was perfectly ſerene, grew black with clouds, and ſuch a quantity of rain fell, as quite overflowed the citadel. Soon after this, Sylla made himſelf maſter of the Piræus; the moſt of which he laid in aſhes, and among the reſt, that admirable work, the arſenal built by Philo.

During theſe tranſactions, Taxiles, Mithridates's general came down from Thrace and Macedonia, with a hundred thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and fourſcore and ten chariots armed with ſcythes, and ſent to deſire Archelaus to meet him. Archelaus had then his ſtation at Munychia, and neither choſe to quit the ſea, nor yet fight the Romans, but was perſuaded his point was to protract the war, and to cut off the enemy's convoys. Sylla ſaw better than he the diſtreſs he might be in for proviſions, and therefore moved from that barren country, which was ſcarce ſufficient to maintain his troops in time of peace, and led them into Bœotia. Moſt people thought this an error in his counſels, to quit the rocks of Attica, where horſe could hardly act, and to expoſe himſelf on the large and open plains of Bœotia, when he knew the chief ſtrength of the barbarians conſiſted in cavalry and chariots. But to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced as we have obſerved, to hazard a battle. Beſides, he was in pain for Hortenſius, a man of a great and enterpriſing ſpirit who was bringing him a conſiderable reinforcement from Theſſaly, and was watched by the barbarians in the ſtraits. Theſe were the reaſons which induced Sylla to march into Bæotia. As for Hortenſius, Caphis, a countryman of ours, led him another way, and diſappointed the barbarians. He conducted him by mount Parnaſſus to Tithora, which is now a large city, but was then only a fort ſituated on the brow of a ſteep precipice, where the Phocians of old took

* The deluge of Ogygees happened in Attica near ſeventeen hundred years before.

refuge when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortenſius, having pitched his tents there, in the day time kept off the enemy; and in the night having made his way down the broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla met him with all his forces.

Thus united, they took poſſeſſion of a fertile hill, in the middle of the plains of Elateia, well ſheltered with trees, and watered at the bottom. It was called Philoboeotus, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil and its agreeable ſituation. When they were encamped, they appeared to the enemy no more than a handful. They had not indeed above fifteen hundred horſe, and not quite fifteen thouſand foot. The other generals in a manner forced Archelaus upon action; and when they came to put their forces in order of battle, they filled the whole plain with horſes, chariots, bucklers and targets. The clamor and hideous roar of ſo many nations ranked thick together, ſeemed to rend the ſky; and the pomp and ſplendor of their appearance was not without its uſe in exciting terror. For the luſtre of their arms, which were richly adorned with gold and ſilver, and the colors of their Median and Scythian veſts, intermixed with braſs and poliſhed ſteel, when the troops were in motion, kindled the air with an awful flame like that of lightning.

The Romans, in great conſternation, ſhut themſelves up with their trenches. Sylla could not with all his arguments remove their fears; and, as he did not chooſe to force them into the field in this diſpirited condition, he ſat ſtill, and bore, though with great reluctance, the vain boaſts and inſults of the barbarians. This was of more ſervice to him than any other meaſure he could have adopted. The enemy, who held him in great contempt, and were not before very obedient to their own generals, by reaſon of their number, now forgot all diſcipline; and but few of them remained within their intrenchments.—Invited by rapine and plunder, the greateſt part had diſperſed themſelves, and were got ſeveral days journey from the camp. In theſe excurſions, it is ſaid, they ruined the city of Panopea, ſacked Lebadia, and pillaged a temple where oracles were delivered, without orders from any one of their generals.

Sylla, full of ſorrow and indignation to have theſe cities deſtroyed before his eyes, was willing to try what effect

labor would have upon his ſoldiers. He compelled them to dig trenches, to draw the Cephiſus from its channel, and made them work at it without intermiſſion; ſtanding inſpector himſelf, and ſeverely puniſhing all whom he found remiſs. His view in this was to tire them with labor, that they might give the preference to danger; and it anſwered the end he propoſed. On the third day of their drudgery, as Sylla paſſed by, they called out to him to lead them againſt the enemy. Sylla ſaid, "It is not any inclination "to fight, but an unwillingneſs to work, that puts you "upon this requeſt. If you really want to come to an "engagement, go, ſword in hand, and ſeize that poſt immediately." At the ſame time he pointed to the place, where had formerly ſtood the citadel of the Paropotamians; but all the buildings were now demoliſhed, and there was nothing left but a craggy and ſteep mountain, juſt ſeparated from mount Edylium by the river Aſſus, which at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephiſus. The river growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge a ſafe place for an encampment. Sylla ſeeing thoſe of the enemy's troops called *Chalcaſpides*, haſtening to ſeize that poſt, wanted to gain it before them, and by availing himſelf of the preſent ſpirit of his men, he ſucceeded. Archelaus, upon this diſappointment turned his arms againſt Chæronea; the inhabitants in conſequence of their former connexions with Sylla, entreated him not to deſert the place; upon which he ſent along with them the military tribune Gabinius, with one legion. The Chæroneans, with all their ardor to reach their city, did not arrive ſooner than Gabinius: Such was his honor when engaged in their defence, that it even eclipſed the zeal of thoſe who implored his aſſiſtance. Juba tells us, that it was not Gabinius but Ericius,* who was diſpatched on this occaſion. In this critical ſituation, however, was the city of Chæronea.

The Romans now received from Lebadia and the cave of Trophonius very agreeable accounts of oracles, that promiſed victory. The inhabitants of that country tell us many ſtories about them; but what Sylla himſelf writes in the tenth book of his Commentaries is this: Quintus Titius, a man of ſome note among the Romans employed in Greece,

* It is probable, it ſhould be read Hirtius; for ſo ſome manuſcripts have it, where the ſame perſon is mentioned again afterwards.

came to him one day after he had gained the battle of Chæronea, and told him, that Trophonius foretold another battle to be fought ſhortly in the ſame place, in which he ſhould likewiſe prove victorious. After him, came a private ſoldier of his own, with a promiſe from heaven of the glorious ſucceſs that would attend his affairs in Italy. Both agreed as to the manner in which theſe prophecies were communicated; they ſaid the Deity that appeared to them, both in beauty and majeſty, reſembled the Olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had paſſed the Aſſus, he encamped under mount Edylium, over againſt Archelaus, who had ſtrongly intrenched himſelf between Acontium and Edylium, near a place called Aſſia. That ſpot of ground bears the name of Archelaus to this day. Sylla paſſed one day without attempting any thing. The day following, he left Muræna with a legion and two cohorts, to haraſs the enemy, who were already in ſome diſorder, while he himſelf went and ſacrificed on the banks of the Cephiſus. After the ceremony was over he proceeded to Chæronea, to join the forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a poſt which the enemy had gained before him. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we expreſs in our language by the term *Orthopagus*. At the foot of it runs the river Morius,* and by it ſtands the temple of Apollo Thurius. Apollo is ſo called from Thuro the mother of Chæron, who, as hiſtory informs us, was the founder of Chæronea. Others ſay, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed Cadmus for his guide, firſt preſented herſelf there, and that the place was thence named Thurium; for the Phœnicians call a heifer *Thor*.

As Sylla approached Chæronea, the tribune who had the city in charge, led out his troops to meet him, having himſelf a crown of laurel in his hands. Juſt as Sylla received them, and began to animate them to the intended enterpriſe, Homoloicus and Anaxidamus, two Chæroneans addreſſed him, with a promiſe to cut off the corps that occupied Thurium, if he would give them a ſmall party to ſupport them in the attempt. For there was a path which the barbarians were not appriſed of, leading

* This river is afterwards called *Molus*; but which is the right reading is uncertain.

from a place called Petrochus, by the temple of the Muſes, to a part of the mountain that overlooked them; from whence it was eaſy either to deſtroy them with ſtones, or drive them down into the plain. Sylla finding the character of theſe men for courage and fidelity ſupported by Gabinius, ordered them to put the thing in execution.—Meantime he drew up his forces and placed the cavalry in the wings; taking the right himſelf and giving the left to Muræna. Gallus* and Hortenſius, his lieutenants, commanded a body of reſerve in the rear, and kept watch upon the heights, to prevent their being ſurrounded. For it was eaſy to ſee that the enemy were preparing with their wings, which conſiſted of an infinite number of horſe, and all their light armed foot, troops that could move with great agility, and wind away at pleaſure, to take a circuit, and quite encloſe the Roman army.

In the mean time, the two Chæroneans, ſupported, according to Sylla's order, by a party commanded by Ericus, ſtole unobſerved up Thurium, and gained the ſummit. As ſoon as they made their appearance, the barbarians were ſtruck with conſternation, and ſought refuge in flight; but in the confuſion many of them periſhed by means of each other. For, unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the ſteep mountain, they fell upon the ſpears of thoſe that were next before them, or elſe puſhed them down the precipice. All this while the enemy were preſſing upon them from above, and galling them behind; inſomuch that three thouſand men were killed upon Thurium. As to thoſe who got down, ſome fell into the hands of Muræna, who met them in good order, and eaſily cut them in pieces; others who fled to the main body, under Archelaus, wherever they fell in with it, filled it with terror and diſmay; and this was the thing that gave the officers moſt trouble, and principally occaſioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage of their diſorder, moved with ſuch vigor and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief ſtrength of thoſe chariots conſiſts in the courſe they run, and in the impetuoſity conſequent upon it; and if they have but a ſhort compaſs, they

* Guarin after Appian's *Mithrid.* reads *Galba.* And ſo it is in ſeveral manuſcripts. Dacier propoſes to read *Balbus*, which name occurs afterwards.

are as inſignificant as arrows ſent from a bow not well drawn. This was the caſe at preſent with reſpect to the barbarians. Their chariots moved at firſt ſo ſlow, and their attacks were ſo lifeleſs, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with the utmoſt ridicule. They even called for freſh ones, as they uſed to do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this, the infantry engaged. The barbarians, for their part tried what the long pikes would do; and, by locking their ſhields together, endeavored to keep themſelves in good order. As for the Romans, after their ſpears had had all the effect that could be expected from them, they drew their ſwords, and met the ſimitars of the enemy with a ſtrength which a juſt indignation inſpires. For Mithridates's generals had brought over fifteen thouſand ſlaves upon a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy armed infantry. On which occaſion, a certain centurion is ſaid thus to have expreſſed himſelf:—"Surely theſe are the *Saturnalia*; for we never ſaw ſlaves "have any ſhare of liberty at another time." However, as their ranks were ſo cloſe, and their file ſo deep, that they could not eaſily be broken; and as they exerted a ſpirit which could not be expected from them, they were not repulſed and put in diſorder till the archers and ſlingers of the ſecond line diſcharged all their fury upon them.

Archelaus was now extending his right wing, in order to ſurround the Romans, and Hortenſius, with the cohorts under his command, puſhed down to take him in flank. But Archelaus, by a ſudden manœuvre turned againſt him with two thouſand horſe whom he had at hand, and by little and little drove him towards the mountains; ſo that being ſeparated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, informed of this, puſhed up with his right wing, which had not yet engaged, to the aſſiſtance of Hortenſius. On the other hand, Archelaus, conjecturing, from the duſt that flew about, the real ſtate of the caſe, left Hortenſius, and haſtened back to the right of the Roman army, from whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

At the ſame time Taxiles led on the *Chalcaſpides* againſt Muræna, ſo that ſhouts were ſet up on both ſides, which were reechoed by the neigboring mountains. Sylla now ſtopped to conſider which way he ſhould direct his courſe.

At length, concluding to return to his own poſt, he ſent Hortenſius with four cohorts to the aſſiſtance of Muræna, and himſelf with the fifth made up to his right wing with the utmoſt expedition. He found that without him it kept a good countenance againſt the troops of Archelaus; but as ſoon as he appeared, his men made ſuch prodigious efforts, that they routed the enemy entirely, and purſued them to the river and mount Acontium.

Amidſt this ſucceſs, Sylla was not unmindful of Muræna's danger, but haſtened with a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him, however, victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but to join in the purſuit. Great numbers of the barbarians fell in the field of battle, and ſtill greater as they were endeavoring to gain their intrenchments; ſo that out of ſo many myriads only ten thouſand men reached Chalcis. Sylla ſays, he miſſed only fourteen of his men, and two of theſe came up in the evening. For this reaſon he inſcribed his trophies *to Mars, to Victory and Venus*, to ſhow that he was no leſs indebted to good fortune, than to capacity and valor, for the advantages he had gained. The trophy I am ſpeaking of was erected for the victory won on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus. The other trophy upon the top of Thurium, in memory of their getting above the barbarians, was inſcribed in Greek characters *to the valor of Homoloicus and Anaxidamus.*

He exhibited games on this occaſion at Thebes, in a theatre erected for that purpoſe near the fountain of Œdipus.* But the judges were taken from other cities of Greece, by reaſon of the implacable hatred he bore the Thebans. He deprived them of half their territories, which he conſecrated to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter; leaving orders that out of their revenues the money ſhould be repaid which he had taken from their temples.

After this, he received news that Flaccus, who was of the oppoſite faction, was elected conſul, and that he was bringing a great army over the Ionian, in pretence againſt Mithridates, but in reality againſt him. He therefore

* Pauſanias tells us this fountain was ſo called, becauſe Œdipus there waſhed off the blood he was ſtained with in the murder of his father.

marched into Theſſaly to meet him. However, when he was arrived at Melitea, intelligence was brought him from ſeveral quarters, that the countries behind him were laid waſte by another army of the king's ſuperior to the former. Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought over eighty thouſand men, of the beſt-equipped and beſt diſciplined troops of Mithridates. With theſe he entered Bœotia, and made himſelf maſter of the country, in hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaus remonſtrated againſt that meaſure, but Dorylaus was ſo far from regarding him, that he ſcrupled not to aſſert, that ſo many myriads of men could not have been loſt without treachery. But Sylla ſoon turned back, and ſhowed Dorylaus how prudent the advice was which he had rejected, and what a proper ſenſe its author had of the Roman valor. Indeed, Dorylaus himſelf, after ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with Sylla at Tilphoſium, was the firſt to agree that action was not the thing to be purſued any longer, but that the war was to be ſpun out, and decided at laſt by dint of money.

However, the plain of Orchomenus, where they were encamped, being moſt advantageous for thoſe whoſe chief ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, gave freſh ſpirits to Archelaus. For of all the plains of Bœotia the largeſt and moſt beautiful is this, which without either tree or buſh, extends itſelf from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens in which the river Melas loſes itſelf. That river riſes under the walls of the city juſt mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from its ſource. About the ſummer ſolſtice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plants of the ſame nature; only they are meagre and bear but little fruit. Its courſe is ſhort, great part of it ſoon ſtopping in thoſe dark and muddy fens. The reſt falls into the river Cephiſus, about the place where the water is bordered with ſuch excellent canes for flutes.

The two armies being encamped oppoſite each other, Archelaus attempted not any thing. But Sylla began to cut trenches in ſeveral parts of the field, that he might, if poſſible drive the enemy from the firm ground, which was ſo ſuitable for cavalry, and force them upon the moraſſes. The barbarians could not bear this, but upon the firſt ſignal from their generals, rode up at full ſpeed, and handled the laborers ſo rudely, that they all diſperſed. The corps too deſigned to ſupport them, was put to flight.

Sylla that moment leaped from his horſe, ſeized one of the enſigns, and puſhed through the middle of the fugitives towards the enemy, crying out, "Here, Romans, is the "bed of honor I am to die in. Do you, when you are "aſked where you betrayed your general, remember to "ſay, it was at Orchomenus." Theſe words ſtopped them in their flight; beſides, two cohorts came from the right wing to his aſſiſtance, and at the head of this united corps he repulſed the enemy.

Sylla then drew back a little, to give his troops ſome refreſhment; after which he brought them to work again, intending to draw a line of circumvallation round the barbarians. Hereupon they returned in better order than before. Diogenes, ſoninlaw to Archelaus, fell glorioufly as he was performing wonders on the right. Their archers were charged ſo cloſe by the Romans, that they had not room to manage their bows, and therefore took a quantity of arrows in their hands, which they uſed inſtead of ſwords, and with them killed ſeveral of their adverſaries. At laſt, however, they were broken, and ſhut up in their camp, where they paſſed the night in great miſery, on account of their dead and wounded. Next morning Sylla drew out his men to continue the trench; and as numbers of the barbarians came out to engage him, he attacked and routed them ſo effectually, that, in the terror they were in, none ſtood to guard the camp, and he entered it with them.—The fens were then filled with the blood of the ſlain, and the lake with dead bodies; inſomuch that even now many of the weapons of the barbarians, bows, helmets, fragments of iron breaſtplates, and ſwords, are found buried in the mud, though it is almoſt two hundred years ſince that battle. Such is the account we have of the actions at Chæronea and Orchomenus.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with ſo much rigor and injuſtice at Rome to perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, that many, to avoid their tyranny, retired to Sylla's camp, as to a ſafe harbor; ſo that in a little time he had a kind of ſenate about him. Metella, with much difficulty, ſtole from Rome, with his children, and came to tell him, that his enemies had burnt his houſe and all his villas, and to entreat him to return home, where his help was ſo much wanted. He was much perplexed in his deliberations, neither chooſing to neglect his afflicted country,

nor knowing how to go and leave such an important object as the Mithridatic war in so unfinished a state, when he was addressed by a merchant of Delium, called Archelaus, on the part of the general of that name, who wanted to sound him about an accommodation, and to treat privately of the conditions of it.

Sylla was so charmed with the thing, that he hastened to a personal conference with the general. Their interview was on the sea coast, near Delium, where stands a celebrated temple of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaus proposed that Sylla should quit the Asiatic and Pontic expedition, and turn his whole attention to the civil war, engaging on the king's behalf to supply him with money, vessels and troops. Sylla proposed in answer, that Archelaus should quit the interest of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, assume the title of an ally to the Romans, and put the king's shipping in his hands. When Archelaus expressed his detestation of this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded: "Is it possible, then, that you Archelaus, a Cappadocian, the slave, or if you please, the friend of a barbarous king, should be shocked at a proposal, which, however in some respects exceptionable, must be attended with the most advantageous consequences? Is it possible that to me, the Roman general, to Sylla, you should take upon you to talk of treachery?—As if you were not that same Archelaus, who at Chæronea fled with a handful of men, the poor remains of an hundred and twenty thousand, who hid himself two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the roads of Bœotia blocked up with heaps of dead bodies."—Upon this Archelaus had recourse to entreaty, and begged at last a peace for Mithridates. This was allowed upon certain conditions—Mithridates was to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, cede Bythinia to Nicodemus, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. He was to allow the Romans two thousand talents to defray the expense of the war, besides seventy armed galleys, fully equipped. Sylla, on the other hand, was to secure Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and procure him the title of friend and ally to the Romans.

These conditions being accepted and negotiated, Sylla returned through Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont. Archelaus, who accompanied him, was treated with the greatest respect, and when he happened to fall sick

at Lariſſa, Sylla halted there for ſome time, and ſhowed him all the attention he could have paid to his own general officers, or even to his colleague himſelf. This circumſtance rendered the battle of Chæronea a little ſuſpected, as if it had been gained by unfair means; and what added to the ſuſpicion was, the reſtoring of all the priſoners of Mithridates, except Ariſtion, the avowed enemy of Archelaus, who was taken off by poiſon. But what confirmed the whole, was the ceſſion of ten thouſand acres in Eubœa to the Cappadocian, and the title that was given him of friend and ally to the Romans. Sylla, however, in his commentaries, obviates all theſe cenſures.

During his ſtay at Lariſſa, he received an embaſſy from Mithridates, entreating him not to inſiſt upon his giving up Paphlagonia, and repreſenting that the demand of ſhipping was inadmiſſible. Sylla heard theſe remonſtrances with indignation—"What," ſaid he, "does Mithridates "pretend to keep Paphlagonia, and refuſe to ſend the "veſſels I demanded? Mithridates, whom I ſhould have "expected to entreat me on his knees that I would ſpare "that right hand which had ſlain ſo many Romans—But "I am ſatisfied that, when I return to Aſia, he will change "his ſtyle. While he reſides at Pergamus, he can direct "at eaſe the war he has not ſeen." The ambaſſadors were ſtruck dumb with this indignant anſwer, while Archelaus endeavored to ſooth and appeaſe the anger of Sylla, by every mitigating expreſſion, and bathing his hand with his tears. At length he prevailed on the Roman general to ſend him to Mithridates, aſſuring him that he would obtain his conſent to all the articles, or periſh in the attempt.

Sylla upon this aſſurance diſmiſſed him, and invaded Medica, where he committed great depredations, and then returned to Macedonia. He received Archelaus at Philippi, who informed him that he had ſucceeded perfectly well in his negotiation, but that Mithridates was extremely deſirous of an interview. His reaſon for it was this: Fimbria, who had ſlain the conſul Flaccus, one of the heads of the oppoſite faction, and defeated the king's generals, was now marching againſt Mithridates himſelf. Mithridates, alarmed at this, wanted to form a friendſhip with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus, in the country of Troas. Mithridates came with two hundred galleys, an army of

twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla had no more than four cohorts and two hundred horſe. Mithridates came forward, and offered him his hand, but Sylla firſt aſked him, "Whether "he would ſtand to the conditions that Archelaus had "ſettled with him?" The king heſitated upon it, and Sylla then ſaid, "It is for petitioners to ſpeak firſt, and "for conquerors to hear in ſilence." Mithridates then began a long harrangue, in which he endeavored to apologiſe for himſelf, by throwing the blame partly upon the gods, and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him—"I have often," ſaid he, "heard that "Mithridates was a good orator, but now I know it by "experience, ſince he has been able to give a color to "ſuch unjuſt and abominable deeds." Then he ſet forth in bitter terms, and in ſuch a manner as could not be replied to, the king's ſhameful conduct, and in concluſion aſked him again, "Whether he would abide by the con-"ditions ſettled with Archelaus?" Upon his anſwering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and ſaluted him. Then he preſented to him the two kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates, having delivered up to him ſeventy of his ſhips and five hundred archers, ſailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived that his troops were much offended at the peace; they thought it an unſufferable thing, that a prince who, of all the kings in the univerſe, was the bittereſt enemy to Rome; who had cauſed an hundred and fifty thouſand Romans to be murdered in Aſia in one day, ſhould go off with the wealth and ſpoils of Aſia, which he had been plundering and oppreſſing full four years. But he excuſed himſelf to them by obſerving, that they ſhould never have been able to carry on the war againſt both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From thence he marched againſt Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira; and having marked out a camp very near him, he began upon the intrenchment. The ſoldiers of Fimbria came out in their veſts, and ſaluted thoſe of Sylla, and readily aſſiſted them in their work. Fimbria ſeeing this deſertion, and withal dreading Sylla as an implacable enemy, diſpatched himſelf upon the ſpot.

Sylla laid a fine upon Aſia of twenty thouſand talents; and beſide this, the houſes of private perſons were ruined by

the insolence and disorder of the soldiers he quartered upon them. For he commanded every householder to give the soldier who lodged with him sixteen drachmas a day, and to provide a supper for him and as many friends as he chose to invite. A centurion was to have fifty drachmas a day, and one dress to wear within doors, and another in public.

These things settled, he set sail from Ephesus with his whole fleet, and reached the harbor of Piræus the third day. At Athens he got himself initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and from that city he took with him the library of Apellicon and Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, books at that time not sufficiently known to the world. When they were brought to Rome, it is said that Tyrannio the grammarian prepared many of them for publication.* and that Andronicus the Rhodian, getting the manuscripts by his means, did actually publish them, together with those indexes that are now in every body's hands. The old Peripatetics appear indeed to have been men of curiosity and erudition; but they had neither met with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus's books, nor were those they did meet with correct copies; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus left his works, fell into mean and obscure hands.

During Sylla's stay at Athens, he felt a painful numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls the *lisping of the gout*. This obliged him to sail to Ædepsus, for the benefit of the warm baths, and where he lounged away the day with mimics and buffoons, and all the train of Bacchus. One day as he was walking by the sea side, some fishermen presented him with a curious dish of fish. Delighted with the present, he asked the people of what country they were, and when he heard they were Alæans, "What," said he, "are any of the "Alæans then alive?" for in pursuance of his victory at Orchomenus, he had razed three cities of Bœotia, Anthedon, Larymna and Alææ. The poor men were struck dumb with fear, but he told them with a smile, "They

* The latin interpreter renders ἐνστρεψασθαι *intervertisse*, and Dacier *detourna*, both which signify *converted to his own use*. But they are certainly wrong. Ἀποστρεψασθαι has that sense. Besides, Cicero and Strabo give Tyrannio a character that sets him above any meanness.

"might go away quite happy, for they had brought very "reſpectable mediators with them." The Alæans tell us, that from this time they took courage, and reeſtabliſhed themſelves in their old habitations.

Sylla, now recovered, paſſed through Theſſaly and Macedonia to the ſea, intending to croſs over from Dyrrachium to Brunduſium, with a fleet of twelve hundred ſail. In that neighborhood ſtands Apollonia, near which is a remarkable ſpot of ground called Nymphæum.* The lawns and meadows are of incomparable verdure, though interſperſed with ſprings, from which continually iſſues fire. In this place, we are told, a ſatyr was taken aſleep, exactly ſuch as ſtatuaries and painters repreſent to us. He was brought to Sylla, and interrogated in many languages who he was; but he uttered nothing intelligible; his accent being harſh and inarticulate, ſomething between the neighing of a horſe and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was ſhocked with his appearance, and ordered him to be taken out of his preſence.

When he was on the point of embarking with his troops, he began to be afraid, that as ſoon as they reached Italy, they would diſperſe and retire to their reſpective cities. Hereupon they came to him of their own accord, and took an oath that they ſhould ſtand by him to the laſt, and not wilfully do any damage to Italy. And as they ſaw he would want large ſums of money, they went and collected each as much as they could afford, and brought it him. He did not, however, receive their contribution, but having thanked them for their attachment, and encouraged them to hope the beſt, he ſet ſail. He had to go, as he himſelf tells us, againſt fifteen generals of the other party, who had under them no leſs than two hundred and fifty cohorts. But heaven gave him evident tokens of ſucceſs. He ſacrificed immediately upon his landing at Tarentum, and the liver of the victim had the plain impreſſion † of a

* In this place the Nymphs had an oracle, of the manner of conſulting which, Dion (l. 41.) tells us ſeveral ridiculous ſtories. Strabo ſpeaking of it in his ſeventh book, tells us the Nymphæum is a rock, out of which iſſues fire, and that beneath it flow ſtreams of flaming bitumen.

† The prieſts traced the figures they wanted upon the liver on their hands, and by holding it very cloſe, eaſily made the impreſſion upon it while it was warm and pliant.

crown of laurel with two ſtrings hanging down. A little before his paſſage, there were ſeen in the day time upon Mount Hephæum* in Campania two great hegoats engaged, which uſed all the movements that men do in fighting. The phenomenon raiſed itſelf by degrees from the earth into the air, where it diſperſed itſelf in the manner of ſhadowy phantoms, and quite diſappeared.

A little after this, young Marius, and Norbanus the conſul, with two very powerful bodies, preſumed to attack Sylla, who, without any regular diſpoſition of his troops, or order of battle, by the mere valor and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, after having ſlain ſeven thouſand of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to ſeek a refuge within the walls of Capua. This ſucceſs he mentions as the cauſe why his ſoldiers did not deſert but deſpiſed the enemy, though greatly ſuperior in numbers. He tells us, moreover, that an enthuſiaſtic ſervant of Pontius in the town of Silvium, announced him victorious, upon the communicated authority of Bellona, but informed him at the ſame time, that if he did not haſten, the capitol would be burnt—This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the ſixth of July. About this time it was that Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's officers, who had no more than ſixteen cohorts under his command, found himſelf on the point of engaging an enemy who had fifty; though he had the utmoſt confidence in the valor of his troops, yet as many of them were without arms, he was doubtful about the onſet. While he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from a neighboring field a quantity of flowers that fell on the ſhields and helmets of the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner that they appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumſtance had ſuch an effect upon them,† that they charged the enemy with double vigor and courage,

* There is no ſuch mountain as Hephæum known. Livy mentions the hills of Tifata near Capua.

† The uſe that the ancient Romans as well as Greeks made of enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, in war particularly, was ſo great, and ſo frequent, that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native courage and valor. The ſlighteſt circumſtance, as in the improbable inſtance referred to, of a preternatural kind, or bearing the leaſt ſhadow of a religious ceremony, would animate them to thoſe exploits, which, though a rational valor, was certainly capable of effecting them, without ſuch influence they would never have undertaken.

killed eighteen thousand, and became complete maſters of the field, and of the camps. This Marcus Lucullus was brother to that Lucullus who afterwards conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

Sylla ſtill ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with armies and powerful enemies to whom he was inferior in point of force, and therefore had recourſe to fraud. He made Scipio, one of the conſuls, ſome propoſals for an accommodation, upon which many interviews and conferences enſued. But Sylla always finding ſome pretence for gaining time, was corrupting Scipio's ſoldiers all the while by means of his own, who were as well practiſed as their general in every art of ſolicitation. They entered their adverſaries camp, and, mixing among them, ſoon gained them over, ſome by money, ſome by fair promiſes, and others by the moſt inſinuating adulation. At laſt Sylla advancing to their intrenchments with twenty cohorts, Scipio's men ſaluted them as fellow ſoldiers, and came out and joined them; ſo that Scipio was left alone in his tent, where he was taken, but immediately after diſmiſſed in ſafety. Theſe twenty cohorts were Sylla's decoy birds, by which he drew forty more into his net, and then brought them altogether into his camp. On this occaſion Carbo is reported to have ſaid, that in Sylla he had to contend both with a fox and a lion, but the fox gave him the moſt trouble.

The year following young Marius being conſul, and at the head of fourſcore cohorts, gave Sylla the challenge. Sylla was very ready to accept it that day in particular on account of a dream he had the night before. He thought he ſaw old Marius, who had now been long dead, adviſing his ſon to beware of the enſuing day, as big with miſchief to him. This made Sylla impatient for the combat. The firſt ſtep he took towards it was to ſend for Dolabella, who had encamped at ſome diſtance. The enemy had blocked up the roads; and Sylla's troops were much harraſſed in endeavoring to open them. Beſides, a violent rain happened to fall, and ſtill more incommoded them in their work. Hereupon the officers went and entreated Sylla to defer the battle till another day, ſhowing him how his men were beaten out with fatigue, and ſeated upon the ground with their ſhields under them. Sylla yielded to their arguments, though with great reluctance, and gave them orders to entrench themſelves.

They were juſt begun to put theſe orders in execution, when Marius rode boldly up in hopes of finding them diſ-

perſed and in great diſorder. Fortune ſeized this moment for accompliſhing Sylla's dream. His ſoldiers, fired with indignation, left their work, ſtuck their pikes in the trench, and with drawn ſwords and loud ſhouts ran to the charge. The enemy made but a ſlight reſiſtance; they were routed, and vaſt numbers ſlain in their flight. Marius himſelf fled to Præneſte, where he found the gates ſhut; but a rope was let down, to which he faſtened himſelf, and ſo he was taken up over the wall.

Some authors indeed write, and among the reſt Feneſtella, that Marius ſaw nothing of the battle, but that being oppreſſed with watching and fatigue, he laid himſelf down in a ſhade, after the ſignal was given, and was not awakened without difficulty when all was loſt. Sylla ſays, he loſt only three and twenty men in this battle, though he killed ten thouſand of the enemy, and took eight thouſand priſoners. He was equally ſucceſsful with reſpect to his lieutenants Pompey, Craſſus, Metellus and Servilius, who without any miſcarriage at all, or with none of any conſequence, defeated great and powerful armies; inſomuch that Carbo, who was the chief ſupport of the oppoſite party, ſtole out of his camp by night, and paſſed over into Africa.

The laſt conflict Sylla had, was with Teleſinus the Samnite, who entered the lifts like a freſh champion againſt one that was weary, and was near throwing him at the very gates of Rome. Teleſinus had collected a great body of forces, with the aſſiſtance of a Lucanian named Lamponius, and was haſtening to the relief of Marius who was beſieged in Præneſte. But he got intelligence that Sylla and Pompey were advancing againſt him by long marches, the one to take him in front and the other in rear, and that he was in the utmoſt danger of being hemmed in, both before and behind. In this caſe, like a man of great abilities and experience of the moſt critical kind, he decamped by night, and marched with his whole army directly towards Rome; which was in ſo unguarded a condition, that he might have entered it without difficulty. But he ſtopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline Gate, and contented himſelf with paſſing the night before the walls, greatly encouraged and elevated at the thought of having outdone ſo many great commanders in point of generalſhip.

Early next morning the young nobility mounted their horſes, and fell upon him. He defeated them, and killed a conſiderable number; among the reſt fell Appius Claudius, a young man of ſpirit, and of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in Rome. The city was now full of terror and confuſion—the women ran about the ſtreets, bewailing themſelves, as if it was juſt going to be taken by aſſault—when Balbus, who was ſent before by Sylla, appeared advancing at full ſpeed with ſeven hundred horſe. He ſtopped juſt long enough to give his horſes time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to keep the enemy in play.

In the mean time Sylla made his appearance, and having cauſed his firſt ranks to take a ſpeedy refreſhment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus preſſed him to wait ſome time, and not lead his men in that fatigued condition to an engagement that muſt prove deciſive. For he had not now to do with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the moſt inveterate enemies to the Roman name. However, he overruled their motion, and ordered the trumpets to ſound to the charge, though it was now ſo late as the tenth hour of the day. There was no battle during the whole war fought with ſuch obſtinacy as this. The right wing commanded by Craſſus, had greatly the advantage; but the left was much diſtreſſed and began to give way. Sylla made up to his aſſiſtance. He rode a white horſe of uncommon ſpirit and ſwiftneſs; and two of the enemy knowing him by it, levelled their ſpears at him. He himſelf perceived it not, but his groom did, and with a ſudden laſh made the horſe ſpring forward ſo that the ſpears only grazed his tail, and fixed themſelves in the ground. It is ſaid that in all his battles he wore in his boſom a ſmall golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphi. On this occaſion he kiſſed it with particular devotion,* and addreſſed it in theſe terms:—"O Pythian Apollo, who haſt conducted the fortunate "Cornelius Sylla through ſo many engagements with ho-"nor; when thou haſt brought him to the threſhold of "his country, wilt thou let him fall there inglorious by "the hands of his own citizens?"

* By this it appears, that the heathens made the ſame uſe of the images of their gods, which the Romaniſts do of images and relics.

After this act of devotion, Sylla endeavored to rally his men; ſome he entreated, ſome he threatened, and others he forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having loſt many of his friends of the higheſt diſtinction. A good number, too, of thoſe who came out of the city to ſee the battle, were trodden under foot and periſhed. Nay, Rome itſelf was thought to be abſolutely loſt; and the ſiege of Prænesſe, where Marius had taken up his quarters, near being raiſed. For after the defeat many of the fugitives repaired thither, and deſired Lucretius Ofella who had the direction of the ſiege, to quit it immediately, becauſe (they ſaid) Sylla was ſlain, and his enemies maſters of Rome.

But the ſame evening, when it was quite dark, there came perſons to Sylla's camp, on the part of Craſſus, to deſire refreſhments for him and his ſoldiers. For he had defeated the enemy, and purſued them to Antemna, where he was ſet down to beſiege them. Along with this news, Sylla was informed, that the greateſt part of the enemy was cut off in the action. As ſoon therefore, as it was day, he repaired to Antemna. There three thouſand of the other faction ſent deputies to him to intercede for mercy; and he promiſed them impunity, on condition that they would come to him after ſome notable ſtroke againſt the reſt of his enemies. Confiding in his honor, they fell upon another corps, and thus many of them were ſlain by the hands of their fellow ſoldiers. Sylla, however, collected theſe, and what was left of the others, to the number of ſix thouſand, into the Circus; and at the ſame time aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, his ſoldiers, as they had been ordered, fell upon thoſe ſix thouſand poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of ſuch a number of people maſſacred in a place of no great extent, as may well be imagined, was very dreadful. The ſenators were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. But he with a firm and unaltered countenance continuing his diſcourſe, "Bade them attend to what he was ſaying, and not trouble themſelves about what was doing without; for the noiſe they heard came only from ſome malefactors, whom he ordered to be chaſtiſed."

It was evident from hence to the leaſt diſcerning among the Romans, that they were not delivered from tyranny; they had only changed their tyrant. Marius, indeed, from the firſt was of a harſh and ſevere diſpoſition, and power did not produce, it only added to his cruelty. But Sylla, at the beginning, bore proſperity with great moderation; though he ſeemed more attached to the patricians, it was thought he would protect the rights of the people; he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been ſo compaſſionate that he often melted into tears. This change in him, therefore, could not but caſt a blemiſh upon power. On his account it was believed, that high honors and fortunes will not ſuffer men's manners to remain in their original ſimplicity, but that it begets in them inſolence, arrogance, and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce ſuch a change of diſpoſition, or whether it only diſplays the native badneſs of the heart, belongs however to another department of letters to inquire.

Sylla now turning himſelf to kill and to deſtroy, filled the city with maſſacres, which had neither number nor bounds. He even gave up many perſons againſt whom he had no complaint, to the private revenge of his creatures. At laſt one of the young nobility, named Caius Metellus, ventured to put theſe queſtions to him in the ſenate—"Tell us, Sylla, when we ſhall have an end of our calamities? How far thou wilt proceed, and when we may "hope thou wilt ſtop? We aſk thee not to ſpare thoſe "whom thou haſt marked out for puniſhment, but we aſk "an exemption from anxiety for thoſe whom thou haſt "determined to ſave." Sylla ſaid, "He did not yet know "whom he ſhould ſave." "Then," replied Metellus, "let us know whom thou intendeſt to deſtroy;" and Sylla anſwered, "He would do it." Some, indeed, aſcribe the laſt reply to Aufidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, he proſcribed eighty citizens, without conſulting any of the magiſtrates in the leaſt. And as the public expreſſed their indignation at this, the ſecond day after he proſcribed two hundred and twenty more, and as many on the third. Then he told the people from the *roſtrum*, "He had now proſcribed all that he "remembered; and ſuch as he had forgot, muſt come into "ſome future proſcription." Death was the puniſhment

he ordained for any one who ſhould harbor or ſave a perſon proſcribed, without excepting a brother, a ſon, or a parent! Such was to be the reward of humanity! But two talents were to be the reward of murder, whether it were a ſlave that killed his maſter, or a ſon his father! The moſt unjuſt circumſtance, however, of all, ſeemed to be, that he declared the ſons and grandſons of proſcribed perſons infamous, and confiſcated their goods!

The liſts were put up not only at Rome, but in all the cities of Italy. Neither temple of the gods, nor paternal dwelling, nor hearth of hoſpitality, was any protection againſt murder. Huſbands were diſpatched in the boſoms of their wives, and ſons in thoſe of their mothers. And the ſacrifices to reſentment and revenge, were nothing to thoſe who fell on account of their wealth. So that it was a common ſaying among the ruffians, "His fine houſe "was the death of ſuch a one, his gardens of another, "and his hot baths of a third." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man, who thought he could have no ſhare in thoſe miſeries, but that which co[mpaſſion] gave him, came one day into the *forum*, and out of curioſity read the names of the proſcribed. Finding his own, however, among the reſt, he cried out, "Wretch that I am! my Alban villa "purſues me;" and he had not gone far before a ruffian came up and killed him.

In the mean time young Marius being taken*, ſlew himſelf. Sylla then came to Præneſte, where at firſt he tried the inhabitants, and had them executed ſingly. But afterwards finding he had not leiſure for ſuch formalities, he collected them to the number of twelve thouſand, and ordered them to be put to death, excepting only one who had formerly entertained him at his houſe. This man with a noble ſpirit, told him, "He would never owe his life to "the deſtroyer of his country;" and voluntarily mixing with the crowd, he died with his fellow citizens! The ſtrangeſt, however, of all his proceedings, was that with reſpect to Cataline. This wretch had killed his own brother during the civil war, and now he deſired Sylla to put him among the proſcribed, as a perſon ſtill alive; which he

* He was not taken; but as he was endeavoring to make his eſcape by a ſubterraneous paſſage, he found it beſet by Sylla's ſoldiers; whereupon he ordered one of his ſlaves to kill him.

made no difficulty of doing. Catiline, in return, went and killed *one* Marcus Marius, who was of the opposite faction, brought his head to Sylla, as he sat upon his tribunal in the *forum*, and then washed his hands in the lustral water,* at the door of Apollo's temple, which was just by.

These massacres were not the only thing that afflicted the Romans. He declared himself dictator, reviving that office in his own favor, though there had been no instance of it for an hundred and twenty years. He got a decree of amnesty for all he had done; and, as to the future, it invested him with power of life and death, of confiscating, of colonizing, of building or demolishing cities, of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleasure. He exercised his power in such an insolent and despotic manner with regard to confiscated goods, that his applications of them from the tribunal were more intolerable than the confiscations themselves. He gave to handsome prostitutes, to harpers, to buffoons, and the most wicked of his enfranchised slaves, the revenues of whole cities and provinces, and compelled women of condition to marry some of those ruffians.

He was desirous of an alliance with Pompey the Great, and made him divorce the wife he had, in order to his marrying Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella, though he had to force her from Manius Glabrio, by whom she was pregnant. The young lady, however, died in childbed, in the house of Pompey, her second husband.

Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged Marius in Præneste, now aspired to the consulship, and prepared to sue for it. Sylla forbade him to proceed; and when he saw that in confidence of his interest with the people, he appeared notwithstanding in public as a candidate, he sent one of the centurions who attended him, to dispatch that brave man, while he himself sat on his tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and looked down upon the murder. The people seized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. He commanded silence, and told them the thing was done by his order; the centurion therefore was to be dismissed immediately.

* *Here* is another instance of a Heathen custom adopted by the Romanists. An exclusion from the use of this holy water was considered by the Greeks as a sort of excommunication. We find Œdipus prohibiting it to the murderers of Laius. *Sophoc. Oepid.* Act. ii. sc. 1.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was magnificent for the display of wealth, and of the royal spoils, which were a new spectacle; but that which crowned all, was the procession of the exiles. Some of the most illustrious and most powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla their savior and father, because, by his means it was that they returned to their country, and were restored to their wives and children. When the triumph was over, he gave an account of his great actions in a set speech to the people, and was no less particular in relating the instances of his good fortune, than those of his valor. He even concluded with an order, that for the future he should be called Felix (that is the fortunate.) But in writing to the Grecians, and in his answers to the applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus *(the favorite of Venus.)* The inscription upon the trophies left among us, is, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA EPAPHRODITUS. And to the twins he had by Metella, he gave the names of Faustus and Fausta, which, in the Roman language, signifies *auspicious* and *happy*.

A still stronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune, than in his achievements, was his laying down the dictatorship. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, broke in upon the constitution, and changed the form of government, he had the hardiness to leave the people full power to choose consuls again; while he himself, without pretending to any direction of their suffrages, walked about the *forum* as a private man, and put it in the power of any person to take his life. In the first election he had the mortification to see his enemy Marcus Lepidus, a bold and enterprising man, declared consul, not by his own interest, but by that of Pompey, who on this occasion exerted himself with the people. And when he saw Pompey going off happy in his victory, he called him to him and said, "No doubt, young man, "your politics are very excellent, since you have preferred Lepidus to Catulus, the worst and most stupid of "men to the best. It is high time to awake and be up- "on your guard, now you have strengthened your ad- "versary against yourself." Sylla spoke this from something like a prophetic spirit; for Lepidus soon acted with the utmost insolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenths of his ſubſtance to Hercules. The proviſions were ſo overabundant, that a great quantity was thrown every day into the river; and the wine that was drank, was forty years old at leaſt. In the midſt of this feaſting, which laſted many days, Metella ſickened and died. As the prieſts forbade him to approach her, and to have his houſe defiled with mourning, he ſent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another houſe while the breath was in her body. His ſuperſtition made him very punctilious in obſerving theſe laws of the prieſts; but by giving into the utmoſt profuſions, he tranſgreſſed a law of his own, which limited the expenſe of funerals. He broke in upon his own ſumptuary law too, with reſpect to diet, by paſſing his time in the moſt extravagant banquets, and having recourſe to debauches to combat anxiety.

A few months after he preſented the people with a ſhow of gladiators. And as at that time men and women had no ſeparate places, but ſat promiſcuouſly in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the beſt families, happened to ſit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Meſſala, and ſiſter to the orator Hortenſius; her name Valeria; and ſhe had lately been divorced from her huſband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her place. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity; when ſhe ſaid, "Wonder not, my lord, at what I "have done; I had only a mind to ſhare a little in your "good fortune." Sylla was far from being diſpleaſed; on the contrary it appeared that he was flattered very agreeably. For he ſent to aſk her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an exchange of amorous regards and ſmiles; which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accompliſhments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with ſoft looks and languiſhing airs, things that are wont to excite the loweſt of the paſſions.

Yet, notwithſtanding he had married ſo extraordinary a woman, he continued his commerce with actreſſes and fe-

male muſicians, and ſat drinking whole days with a parcel of buffoons about him. His chief favorites at this time were Roſcius the comedian, Sorex the mimic, and Metrobius, who uſed to act a woman's part; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Theſe courſes added ſtrength to a diſtemper, that was but ſlight at the beginning; and for a long time he knew not that he had an abſceſs within him. This abſceſs corrupted his fleſh, and turned it all into lice; ſo that, though he had many perſons employed both day and night to clean him, the part taken away was nothing to that which remained. His whole attire, his baths, his baſons, and his food were filled with that perpetual flux of vermine and corruption. And though he bathed many times a day, to cleanſe and purify himſelf; it was in vain. The corruption came on ſo faſt, that it was impoſſible to overcome it.

We are told, that among the ancients, Acaſtus, the ſon of Pelias, died of this ſickneſs; and of thoſe that come nearer our times, Alcman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Calliſthenes the Olynthian, who was kept in cloſe priſon, and Mucius the lawyer. And if after theſe we may take notice of a man who did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by any thing laudable, but was noted another way, it may be mentioned, that the fugitive ſlave Eunus, who kindled up the *Servile* war in Sicily, and was afterwards taken and carried to Rome, died there of this diſeaſe.

Sylla not only foreſaw his death, but has left ſomething relating to it in his writings. He finiſhed the twenty-ſecond book of his Commentaries only two days before he died; and he tells us that the Chaldæans had predicted, that after a life of glory he would depart in the height of his proſperity. He farther acquaints us, that his ſon who died a little before Metella, appeared to him in a dream, dreſſed in a mean garment, and deſired him to bid adieu to his cares, and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he ſhould live at eaſe, and enjoy the charms of tranquility. He did not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death that he reconciled the contending parties at Puteoli*, and gave them a ſet of laws for the regulation of their police.

* In the Greek *Dichæarchia*, which is another name for *Puteoli*.

And the very day before he died, upon information tha the quæſtor Granius would not pay what he was indebte to the ſtate, but waited for his death to avoid paying it a all, he ſent for him into his apartment, planted his ſerv ants about him, and ordered them to ſtrangle him. Th violence with which he ſpoke, ſtrained him ſo much, tha the impoſthume broke, and he voided a vaſt quantity o blood. His ſtrength now failed faſt, and after he hac paſſed the night in great agonies, he expired. He lefi two young children by Metella; and Valeria, after his death, was delivered of a daughter, called *Poſthuma*; a name given of courſe by the Romans to ſuch as are born after the death of their father.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus, to prevent his having the uſual honors of burial: But Pompey, though he was ſomewhat diſpleaſed at Sylla, becauſe, of all his friends, he had left him only out of his will, in this caſe interpoſed his authority; and prevailed upon ſome by his intereſt and entreaties, and on others by menaces, to drop their oppoſition. Then he convey- ed the body to Rome, and conducted the whole funeral; not only with ſecurity, but with honor. Such was the quantity of ſpices brought in by the women, that excluſive of thoſe carried in two hundred and ten baſkets, a figure of Sylla at full length, and of a *lictor* beſides, was made entirely of cinnamon and the choiceſt frankincenſe. The day happened to be ſo cloudy, and the rain was ſo much expected, that it was about the ninth hour* before the corpſe was carried out. However, it was no ſooner laid upon the pile, than a briſk wind blew, and raiſed ſo ſtrong a flame, that it was conſumed immediately. But after the pile was burnt down, and the fire began to die out, a great rain fell, which laſted till night. So that his good fortune continued to the laſt, and aſſiſted at his funeral. His monument ſtands in the *Campus Martius*; and they tell us he wrote an epitaph for himſelf to this purport: "No friend ever did me ſo much good, or enemy ſo much "harm, but I repaid him with intereſt."

* Three in the afternoon.

LYSANDER AND SYLLA,

COMPARED.

WE have now gone through the life of Sylla, and will proceed to the comparison. This, then, Lysander and he have in common, that they were entirely indebted to themselves for their rise. But Lysander has this advantage, that the high offices he gained were with the consent of the people, while the constitution of his country was in a sound and healthy state; and that he got nothing by force or by acting against the laws—

In civil broils the worst of men may rise.

So it was then in Rome. The people were so corrupt, and the republic in so sickly a condition, that tyrants sprung up on every side. Nor is it any wonder if Sylla gained the ascendant, at a time when wretches like Glaucias and Saturninus expelled such men as Metellus; when the sons of consuls were murdered in the public assemblies; when men supported their seditious purposes with soldiers purchased with money, and laws were enacted with fire and sword and every species of violence.*

In such a state of things, I do not blame the man who raised himself to supreme power; all I say is, that when the commonwealth was in so depraved and desperate a condition, power was no evidence of merit. But since the laws and public virtue never flourished more at Sparta than when Lysander was sent upon the highest and most important commissions, we may conclude that he was the best among the virtuous, and first among the great. Thus the one, though he often surrendered the command, had it as often restored to him by his fellow citizens, because his virtue which alone has a claim to the prize of honor, continued still the same.† The other, after he was once

* We need no other instances than this to show that a republican government will never do in corrupt times.

† What kind of virtue can Plutarch possibly ascribe to Lysander;—Unless he means of military virtue—Undoubtedly he was a man of the greatest duplicity of character, of the greatest profaneness—For he corrupted the priests and prostituted the honor of the gods, to gratify his personal envy and ambition.

appointed general, uſurped the command, and kept in arms for ten years, ſometimes ſtyling himſelf conſul, ſometimes proconſul, and ſometimes dictator, but was always in reality a tyrant.

It is true, as we have obſerved above, Lyſander did attempt a change in the Spartan conſtitution, but he took a milder and more legal method than Sylla. It was by perſuaſion,* not by arms, he proceeded; nor did he attempt to everturn every thing at once. He only wanted to correct the eſtabliſhment as to kings. And indeed it ſeemed natural that in a ſtate which had the ſupreme direction of Greece, on account of its virtue, rather than any other ſuperiority, merit ſhould gain the ſceptre. For as the hunter and the jockey do not ſo much conſider the breed, as the dog or horſe already bred; (for what if the foal ſhould prove a mule?) ſo the politician would entirely miſs his aim, if, inſtead of inquiring into the qualities of a perſon for firſt magiſtrate, he looked upon nothing but his family. Thus the Spartans depoſed ſome of their kings, becauſe they had not princely talents, but were perſons of no worth or conſequence. Vice even with high birth, is diſhonorable; and the honor which virtue enjoys is all her own; family has no ſhare in it.

They were both guilty of injuſtice, but Lyſander *for* his friends, and Sylla *againſt* his. Moſt of Lyſander's frauds were committed for his creatures, and it was to advance to high ſtations and abſolute power that he dipped his hands in ſo much blood; whereas Sylla envied Pompey the army, and Dolabella the naval command he had given them; and he attempted to take them away. And when Lucretius Oſella, after the greateſt and moſt faithful ſervices, ſolicited the conſulſhip, he ordered him to be diſpatched before his eyes. Terror and diſmay ſeized all the world, when they ſaw one of his beſt friends thus murdered.

If we conſider their behavior with reſpect to riches and pleaſure, we ſhall find the one the prince, and the other the tyrant. When the power and authority of Lyſander were ſo extenſive, he was not guilty of one act of intemperance or youthful diſſipation. He, if any man, avoided the ſting of that proverb, *Lions within doors, and foxes without*. So ſober, ſo regular, ſo worthy of a Spartan, was his manner of living. Sylla, on the other hand,

* It was by hypocriſy, by profane and impious expedients.

neither let poverty ſet bounds to his paſſions in his youth, nor years in his age. But as Saluſt ſays, while he was giving his countrymen laws for the regulation of marriages and for promoting ſobriety, he indulged himſelf in adultery and every ſpecies of luſt.

By his debaucheries he ſo drained the public treaſures, that he was obliged to let many cities in alliance and friendſhip with Rome purchaſe independence and the privilege of being governed only by their own laws; though at the ſame time he was daily confiſcating the richeſt and beſt houſes in Rome. Still more immenſe were the ſums he ſquandered upon his flatterers. Indeed, what bounds or moderation could be expected in his private gifts, when his heart was dilated with wine, if we do but attend to one inſtance of his behavior in public? One day as he was ſelling a conſiderable eſtate, which he wanted a friend to have at an underprice, another offered more, and the crier proclaiming the advance, he turned with indignation to the people, and ſaid, "What outrage and tyranny is this, "my friends that I am not allowed to diſpoſe of my own "ſpoils as I pleaſe?"

Far from ſuch rapacioufneſs, Lyſander, to the ſpoils he ſent his countrymen added his own ſhare. Not that I praiſe him in that; for perhaps he hurt Sparta more eſſentially by the money he brought into it, than Sylla did Rome by that which he took from it. I only mention it as a proof of the little regard he had for riches. It was ſomething very particular, however, that Sylla, while he abandoned himſelf to all the profuſion of luxury and expenſe, ſhould bring the Romans to ſobriety; whereas Lyſander ſubjected the Spartans to thoſe paſſions which he reſtrained in himſelf. The former acted worſe than his own laws directed, and the other brought his people to act worſe than himſelf; for he filled Sparta with the love of that which he knew how to deſpiſe. Such they were in their political capacity.

As to military atchievements and acts of generalſhip, the number of victories, and the dangers he had to combat, Sylla is beyond compariſon. Lyſander, indeed, gained two naval victories; to which we may add his taking of Athens; for, though that affair was not difficult in the execution, it was glorious in its conſequences. As to his miſcarriage in Bæotia and at Haliartus, ill fortune, perhaps,

had ſome concern in it, but it was principally owing to indiſcretion; ſince he would not wait for the great reinforcement which the king was bringing from Platæa, and which was upon the point of joining him, but with an ill-timed reſentment and ambition marched up to the walls. Hence it was, that he was ſlain by ſome troops of no conſideration, who ſallied out to the attack. He fell not as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, who was ſlain as he was making head againſt an impetuous enemy; not like Cyrus, or Epaminondas, who received a mortal wound as he was rallying his men and enſuring to them the victory. Theſe great men died the death of generals and kings. But Lyſander threw away his life ingloriouſly like a common ſoldier or deſperate adventurer. By his death he ſhowed how right the ancient Spartans were in not chooſing to fight againſt ſtone walls, where the braveſt man in the world may be killed; I will not ſay by an inſignificant man, but by a child or a woman. So Achilles is ſaid to have been ſlain by Paris at the gates of Troy. On the other hand, ſo many pitched battles were won by Sylla, and ſo many myriads of enemies killed, that it is not eaſy to number them. He took Rome itſelf twice,* and the Piræus at Athens, not by famine, as Lyſander had done, but by aſſault, after he had defeated Archelaus in ſeveral great battles at land, and forced him to take refuge in his fleet.

It is a material point, too to conſider what generals they had to oppoſe. I can look upon it as no more than the play of children, to have beaten Antiochus, who was no better than Alcibiades' pilot, and to have outwitted Philocles the Athenian demagogue,

A man whoſe tongue was ſharpened—not his ſword.

Mithridates would not have compared them with his groom, nor Marius with one of his lictors. But Sylla had to contend with princes, conſuls, generals, and tribunes of the higheſt influence and abilities; and, to name but a few of them. Who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius; among the kings, more powerful than Mithridates; or among the people of Italy, more warlike than

* Whatever military merit he might diſplay in other battles, he had certainly none in the taking of Rome. For it was not generalſhip, but neceſſity that brought it into his hands.

Lamponius and Teleſinus? Yet Sylla baniſhed the firſt, ſubdued the ſeccond, and killed the other two.

What is of more conſequence, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned, is, that Lyſander was ſupported in all his enterpriſes by his friends at home, and owed all his ſucceſs to their aſſiſtance; whereas Sylla, a baniſhed man, overpowered by a faction, at a time when his enemies were expelling his wife, deſtroying his houſe, and putting his friends to death, fought the battles of his country on the plains of Beeotia againſt armies that could not be numbered, and was victorious in her cauſe. This was not all; Mithridates offered to ſecond him with all his power and join him with all his forces againſt his enemies at Rome, yet he relaxed not the leaſt of his demands, nor ſhowed him the leaſt countenance. He would not ſo much as return his ſalutation, or give him his hand, till he promiſed in perſon to relinquiſh Aſia, to deliver up his ſhips, and to reſtore Bythynia and Cappadocia to their reſpective kings. There was nothing in the whole conduct of Sylla more glorious, or that ſhowed greater magnanimity. He preferred the public good to his own; like a dog of generous breed, he kept his hold till his adverſary had given out, and after that he turned to revenge his own cauſe.

The different methods they obſerved with reſpect to the Athenians, contribute not a little to mark their characters. Sylla, though they bore arms againſt him for Mithridates, after he had taken their city indulged them with their liberty and the privilege of their own laws; Lyſander ſhowed no ſort of compaſſion for a people of late ſo glorious and powerful, but aboliſhed the popular government, and ſet over them the moſt cruel and unjuſt of tyrants.

Perhaps, we ſhall not be wide of the truth, if we conclude, that in the life of Sylla there are more great actions, and in Lyſander's fewer faults; if we aſſign to the Grecian the prize of temperance and prudence, and to the Roman that of valor and capacity for war.

CIMON.

PERIPOLTAS the diviner,* who conducted king Opheltas and his subjects from Theſſaly into Bœotia, left a family that flouriſhed for many years. The greateſt part of that family dwelt in Chæronea, where they firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves, after the expulſion of the barbarians. But as they were of a gallant and martial turn, and never ſpared themſelves in time of action, they fell in the wars with the Medes and the Gauls. There remained only a young orphan, named Damon, and ſurnamed Peripoltas. Damon, in beauty of perſon, and dignity of mind, far exceeded all of his age, but he was of a harſh and moroſe temper, unpoliſhed by education.

He was now in the dawn of youth, when a Roman officer who wintered with his company in Chæronea, conceived a criminal paſſion for him; and, as he found ſolicitations and preſents of no avail, he was preparing to uſe force. It ſeems, he deſpiſed our city, whoſe affairs were then in a bad ſituation, and whoſe ſmallneſs and poverty rendered it an object of no importance. As Damon dreaded ſome violence, and withal was highly provoked at the paſt attempts, he formed a deſign againſt the officer's life, and drew ſome of his comrades into the ſcheme. The number was but ſmall, that the matter might be more private; in fact they were no more than ſixteen. One night they daubed their faces over with ſoot, after they had drank themſelves up to a pitch of elevation, and next morning fell upon the Roman as he was ſacrificing in the market place. The moment they had killed him, and a number of thoſe that were about him, they fled out of the city. All was now in confuſion. The ſenate of Chæronea met, and condemned the aſſaſſins to death, in order to excuſe themſelves to the Romans. But as the magiſtrates ſupped together according to cuſtom, Damon and his accomplices returned in the evening, broke into the town hall, killed every man of them, and then made off again.

* Plutarch here introduces an obſcure and dirty ſtory, for the ſake of talking of the place of his nativity.

It happened that Lucius Lucullus, who was going upon some expedition, marched that way. He stopped to make an inquiry into the affair, which was quite recent, and found that the city was so far from being accessary to the death of the Roman officer, that it was a considerable sufferer itself. He therefore withdrew the garrison, and took the soldiers with him.

Damon, for his part, committed depredations in the adjacent country, and greatly harrassed the city. The Chæroneans endeavored to decoy him by frequent messages and decrees in his favor; and when they had got him among them again, they appointed him master of the wrestling ring; but soon took opportunity to dispatch him as he was anointing himself in the bagnio. Our fathers tell us, that for a long time certain spectres appeared on that spot, and sad groans were heard; for which reason the doors of the bagnio were walled up. And to this very day those who live in that neighborhood imagine that they see strange sights, and are alarmed with doleful voices. There are some remains however, of Damon's family, who live mostly in the town of Stiris in Phocis. These are called,* according to the Æolic dialect, *Aholomenoi*, that is, *Sooty-faced*, on account of their ancestor's having smeared his face with soot, when he went about the assassination.

The people of Orchomenus, who were neighbors to the Chæroneans, having some prejudice against them, hired a Roman informer to accuse the city of the murder of those who fell by the hands of Damon and his associates, and to prosecute it as if it had been an individual. The cause came before the governor of Macedonia, for the Romans had not yet sent prætors into Greece; and the persons employed to plead for the city, appealed to the testimony of Lucullus. Upon this the governor wrote to Lucullus, who gave a true account of the affair, and by that means delivered Chæronea from utter ruin.

Our forefathers, in gratitude for their preservation, erected a marble statue to Lucullus in the market place, close by that of Bacchus. And though many ages are since elapsed, we are of opinion that the obligation extends even to us. We are persuaded too, that a representation of the

* In the Attic dialect it would be Μελανόμενοι. The Æolic was the vernacular dialect of the Phocians.

body is not comparable to that of the mind and the manners, and therefore, in this work of lives compared, ſhall inſert his. We ſhall, however, always adhere to the truth; and Lucullus will think himſelf ſufficiently repaid by our perpetuating the memory of his actions. He cannot want, in return for his true teſtimony, a falſe and fictitious account of himſelf. When a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have ſome little blemiſh, we do not want him entirely to paſs over that blemiſh, nor yet to mark it with exactneſs. The one would ſpoil the beauty of the picture, and the other deſtroy the likeneſs. So in our preſent work, ſince it is very difficult, or rather impoſſible, to find any life whatever without its ſpots and errors, we muſt ſet the good qualities in full light, with all the likeneſs of truth. But we conſider the faults and ſtains that proceed either from ſome ſudden paſſion or from political neceſſity, rather as defects of virtue, than ſigns of a bad heart; and for that reaſon we ſhall caſt them a little into ſhade, in reverence to human nature, which produces no ſpecimen of virtue abſolutely pure and perfect.

When we looked out for one to put in compariſon with Cimon, Lucullus ſeemed the propereſt perſon. They were both of a warlike turn, and both diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the barbarians. They were mild in their adminiſtration; they reconciled the contending factions in their country. They both gained great victories, and erected glorious trophies. No Grecian carried his arms to more diſtant countries than Cimon, or Roman than Lucullus. Hercules and Bacchus only exceeded them; unleſs we add the expeditions of Perſeus againſt the Ethiopeans, Medes, and Armenians, and that of Jaſon againſt Colchis. But the ſcenes of theſe laſt actions are laid in ſuch very ancient times, that we have ſome doubt whether the truth could reach us. This alſo they have in common, that they left their wars unfiniſhed; they both pulled their enemies down, but neither of them gave them their death's blow. The principal mark, however, of likeneſs in their characters, is their affability and gentleneſs of deportment in doing the honors of their houſes, and the magnificence and ſplendor with which they furniſhed their tables. Perhaps, there are ſome other reſemblances which we paſs over, that may be eaſily collected from their hiſtory itſelf.

Cimon was the ſon of Miltiades and Hegeſipyla. That lady was a Thracian, and daughter to king Olorus, as it ſtands recorded in the poems of Archelaus and Melanthius, written in honor of Cimon. So that Thucydides the hiſtorian was his relation, for his father was called Olorus;* a name that had been long in the family, and he had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is ſaid too, to have been killed in Scapte Hyle,† a place in that country. His remains, however, were brought into Attica, and his monument is ſhown among thoſe of Cimon's family, near the tomb of Elpinice, ſiſter to Cimon. But Thucydides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, for which he was thrown into priſon by the government, and there he died. He left his ſon Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice was not yet marriageable.

Cimon, at firſt, was a perſon of no reputation, but cenſured as a diſorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared to his grandfather Cimon, who, for his ſtupidity, was called *Coalemos* (that is, *Ideot.*) Steſimbrotus the Thaſian, who was his cotemporary, ſays, he had no knowledge of muſic, or any other accompliſhment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and that he had not the leaſt ſpark of the Attic wit or eloquence; but that there was a generoſity and ſincerity in his behavior, which ſhowed the compoſition of his ſoul to be rather of the Peloponneſian kind. Like the Hercules of Euripides—he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occaſions;

and therefore we may well add that article to the account Steſimbrotus has given us of him.

In his youth, he was accuſed of a criminal commerce with his ſiſter Elpinice.‡ There are other inſtances, indeed, mentioned of Elpinice's irregular conduct, particularly with reſpect to Polygnotus the painter. Hence it

* Ολορῳ τε πατρος ην εις τον τροχαιον αναφερουσης την ὁμωνυμιαν—

† *Scapte Hyle* ſignifies *a wood full of trenches.* Stephanus (de Urb.) calls it Scapteſule.

‡ Some ſay Elpinice was only half ſiſter to Cimon, and that as ſuch he married her; the laws of Athens not forbidding him to marry one that was ſiſter only by the father's ſide. Cornelius Nepos expreſsly affirms it.

was, we are told, that when he painted the Trojan women, in the portico then called *Pleſianaction*,* but now *Pockilæ*, he drew Elpinice's face in the character of Laodice. Polygnotus, however, was not a painter by profeſſion, nor did he receive wages for his work in the portico, but painted without reward, to recommend himſelf to his countrymen. So the hiſtorians write, as well as the poet Melanthius in theſe verſes—

> The temples of the gods
> The fanes of heroes, and Cecropian halls
> His liberal hand adorn'd.

It is true, there are ſome who aſſert that Elpinice did not live in a private commerce with Cimon, but that ſhe was publicly married to him, her poverty preventing her from getting a huſband ſuitable to her birth. Afterwards Callias, a rich Athenian, falling in love with her, made a propoſal to pay the government her father's fine, if ſhe would give him her hand, which condition ſhe agreed to, and, with her brother's conſent, became his wife. Still it muſt be acknowledged that Cimon had his attachments to the ſex. Witneſs his miſtreſſes Aſteria of Salamis, and one Menſtra, on whoſe account the poet Melanthius jeſts upon him in his elegies. And though he was legally married to Iſodice the daughter of Euryptomelus the ſon of Megacles, yet he was too uxorious while ſhe lived, and at her death he was inconſolable, if we may judge from the elegies that were addreſſed to him by way of comfort and condolence. Panætius the philoſopher, thinks Archelaüs the phyſician was author of thoſe elegies, and from the time in which he flouriſhed, the conjecture ſeems not improbable.

The reſt of Cimon's conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themiſtocles, and he was confeſſedly an honeſter man than either of them. He could not be ſaid to come ſhort of them in abilities for war; and even while he was young and without military experience, it is ſurpriſing how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themiſtocles, upon the invaſion of the Medes, adviſed the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the ſtraits of Salamis, to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were

* Diogenes, Suidas, and others, call it Peiſianaction.

aſtoniſhed at the raſhneſs of the enterprize. But Cimon, with a gay air, led the way with his friends through the Ceramicus to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddeſs. This was to ſhow that Athens had no need of cavalry, but of marine forces, on the preſent occaſion. After he had conſecrated the bridle, and taken down a ſhield from the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddeſs, and then went down to the ſea; by which means he inſpired numbers with courage to embark. Beſides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandſome in his perſon, but tall and majeſtic, and had an abundance of hair which curled upon his ſhoulders. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner in the battle, that he gained not only the praiſe, but the hearts of his countrymen; inſomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to think of deſigns and actions worthy of thoſe at Marathon.

When he applied for a ſhare in the adminiſtration, the people received him with pleaſure. By this time they were weary of Themiſtocles, and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behavior to their whole body, conſequent upon his natural mildneſs and candor, they promoted him to the higheſt honors and offices in the ſtate. Ariſtides, the ſon of Lyſimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He ſaw the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, and ſet him up as a rival againſt the keenneſs and daring ſpirit of Themiſtocles.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was elected admiral. The Athenians had not now the chief command at ſea, but acted under the orders of Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian. The firſt thing Cimon did, was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better ſeamen than the reſt. And as Pauſanias began to treat with the barbarians, and write letters to the king, about betraying the fleet to them, in conſequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty ſtyle, and fooliſhly gave into many unneceſſary and oppreſſive acts of authority; Cimon, on the other hand, liſtened to the complaints of the injured with ſo much gentleneſs and humanity, that he inſenſibly gained the command of Greece, not by arms, but by his kind and obliging manners. For the greateſt part of the allies, no longer able to bear the ſeverity and pride of Pauſanias, put

themſelves under the direction of Cimon and Ariſtides. At the ſame time they wrote to the *ephori*, to deſire them to recal Pauſanias, by whom Sparta was ſo diſhonored, and all Greece ſo much diſcompoſed.

It is related, that when Pauſanias was at Byſantium, he caſt his eyes upon a young virgin named Cleonice, of a noble family there, and inſiſted on having her for a miſtreſs. The parents, intimidated by his power, were under the hard neceſſity of giving up their daughter. The young woman begged that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that ſhe might go to his bed in ſecrecy and ſilence. When ſhe entered he was aſleep, and ſhe unfortunately ſtumbled upon the candleſtick, and threw it down. The noiſe waked him ſuddenly, and he, in his confuſion, thinking it was an enemy coming to aſſaſſinate him, unſheathed a dagger that lay by him, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this he could never reſt. Her image appeared to him every night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verſe—

* Go to the fate which pride and luſt prepare!

The allies, highly incenſed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to beſiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to eſcape thence; and as he was ſtill haunted by the ſpectre, he is ſaid to have applied to a temple at Heraclea,* where the manes of the dead were conſulted. There he invoked the ſpirit of Cleonice,† and entreated her pardon. She appeared, and told him, "He would ſoon be delivered "from all his troubles, after his return to Sparta;" in which, it ſeems, his death was enigmatically foretold.‡ Theſe particulars we have from many hiſtorians.

All the confederates had now put themſelves under the conduct of Cimon, and he ſailed with them to Thrace, upon intelligence that ſome of the moſt honorable of the

* Heraclea was a place near Olympia. Pauſanias applied to the necromancers there called Pſychagogi, whoſe office it was to call up departed ſpirits.

† Thus we find that it was a cuſtom in the Pagan as well as in the Hebrew Theology, to conjure up the ſpirits of the dead, and that the witch of Endor was not the only witch in the world.

‡ The Lacedæmonians having reſolved to ſeize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva, called *Chalcioicos*. There they ſhut him up and ſtarved him.

Perſians, and of the king's relations, had ſeized the city of Eion upon the river Strymon, and greatly harraſſed the Greeks in that neighborhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Perſian forces, and then ſhut them up in the town. After this, he diſlodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had uſed to ſupply the town with proviſions, and kept ſo ſtrict a guard over the country, that no convoys could eſcape him. By this means the place was reduced to ſuch extremity, that Butes the king's general, in abſolute deſpair ſet fire to it, and ſo periſhed there with his friends and all his ſubſtance.

In conſequence of this, Cimon became maſter of the town, but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning, becauſe the barbarians had deſtroyed all by fire. The country about it, however, was very beautiful and fertile, and that he ſettled with the Athenians. For this reaſon the people of Athens permitted him to erect there three marble *Hermæ*, which had the following inſcriptions:

Where Strymon with his ſilver waves
The lofty towers of Eion laves,
The hapleſs Mede, with famine preſt,
The force of Grecian arms confeſt.

Let him, who born in diſtant days,
Behold theſe monuments of praiſe—
Theſe forms that valor's glory ſave—
And ſee how Athens crowns the brave,
For honor feel the patriot ſigh,
And for his country learn to die.

Afar from Phyrgia's fated lands
When Mneſtheus leads his Attic bands,
Behold he bears in Homer ſtill
The palm of military ſkill
In every age, on every coaſt,
'Tis thus the ſons of Athens boaſt!

Though Cimon's name does not appear on any of theſe inſcriptions, yet his cotemporaries conſidered them as the higheſt pitch of honor. For neither Themiſtocles nor Miltiades were favored with any thing of that kind. Nay, when the latter aſked only for a crown of olive,

Sochares of the ward of Decelea ſtood up in the midſt of the aſſembly, and ſpoke againſt it, in terms that were not candid indeed, but agreeable to the people. He ſaid, "Miltiades, when you ſhall fight the barbarians alone, and conquer alone, then aſk to have honors paid you alone." What was it then that induced them to give the preference ſo greatly to this action of Cimon? Was it not that under the other generals they fought for their lives and exiſtence as a people, but under him they were able to diſtreſs their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and by colonizing Eion and Amphipolis? They planted a colony too in the iſle of Syros,* which was reduced by Cimon on the occaſion I am going to mention. The Dolopes, who then held it, paid no attention to agriculture. They had ſo long been addicted to piracy, that at laſt they ſpared not even the merchants and ſtrangers who came into their ports, but in that of Cteſium plundered ſome Theſſalians who came to traffic with them, and put them in priſon. Theſe priſoners, however, found means to eſcape, and went and lodged an impeachment againſt the place before the Amphictyones, (who commanded the whole iſland to make reſtitution.) Thoſe who had no concern in the robbery were unwilling to pay any thing, and inſtead of that, called upon the perſons who committed it, and had the goods in their hands, to make ſatisfaction. But theſe pirates apprehenſive of the conſequence, ſent to invite Cimon to come with his ſhips and take the town, which they promiſed to deliver up to him. In purſuance of this, Cimon took the iſland, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean ſea of corſairs.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero Theſeus, the ſon of Ægeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and was there treacherouſly killed by king Lycomedes, who entertained ſome ſuſpicion of him. And as there was an oracle which had enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains,† and to honor him as a demigod, Cimon ſet himſelf to ſearch for his tomb. This was no eaſy undertaking, for the people of Scyros had all along refuſed to

* This happened about the beginning of the ſeventyſeventh Olympiad.

† This oracle was delivered to them four years before; in the firſt year of the ſeventyfifth Olympiad.

declare where he lay, or to suffer any search for his bones. At last with much pains and inquiry he discovered the repository, and put his remains, set off with all immaginable magnificence, on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient seat of that hero almost four hundred years after he had left it.*

Nothing could give the people more pleasure than this event. To commemorate it, they instituted games in which the tragic poets were to try their skill; and the dispute was very remarkable. Sophocles, then a young man, brought his first piece, upon the theatre; and Aphepsion, the archon, perceiving that the audience were not unprejudiced, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method he took was this: When Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the god who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire, but obliged them to sit down and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the judges caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize; at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted, that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but in anger retired to Scicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela.

Ion tells us, that when he was very young, and lately come from Chios to Athens, he supped at Laomedon's with Cimon. After supper, when the libations were over, Cimon was desired to sing, and he did it so agreeably, that the company preferred him, in point of politeness, to Themistocles. For, he on a like occasion, said, "He had not "learned to sing or play upon the harp; but he knew how to "raise a small city to wealth and greatness." The conversation afterwards turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the guests dwelt upon such as appeared to him the most considerable; he, for his part, mentioned only this, which he looked upon as the most artful expedient he had made use of. A great number of barbarians were made prisoners in Sestos and at Byzantium; and the allies desired Cimon to make a division of the booty. Cimon placed the prisoners quite naked, on one side, and all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained, the shares were not

* Plutarch could not make a mistake of four hundred years. We are persuaded, therefore, that he wrote *eight hundred*.

equal; whereupon he bade them take which part they pleaſed, aſſuring them that the Athenians would be ſatiſfied with that they left. Herophytus the Samian adviſed them to make choice of the Perſian ſpoils, and of courſe the Perſian captives fell to the ſhare of the Athenians. For the preſent Cimon was ridiculed in private for the diviſion he had made; becauſe the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of ſcarlet and purple to ſhow, while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of naked ſlaves, and thoſe very unfit for labor. But a little after the friends and relations of the priſoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large ſums for their ranſom. So that Cimon with the money purchaſed four months proviſions for his ſhips, and ſent a quantity of gold beſides to the Athenian treaſury.

Cimon by this time had acquired a great fortune; and what he had gained gloriouſly in the war from the enemy, he laid out with as much reputation upon his fellow citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that ſtrangers, as well as his own countrymen, might freely partake of his fruit. He had a ſupper provided at his houſe every day, in which the diſhes were plain, but ſufficient for a multitude of gueſts. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleaſure, and had his diet without care or trouble; by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Ariſtotle, indeed, ſays, this ſupper was not provided for all the citizens in general, but only for thoſe of his own tribe, which was that of Lacia.*

When he walked out, he uſed to have a retinue of young men well clothed, and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dreſs, he ordered ſome one of them to change clothes with him. This was great and noble. But beſide this, the ſame attendants carried with them a quantity of money, and when they met in the market place with any neceſſitous perſon of tolerable appearance, they took care to ſlip ſome pieces into his hand as privately as poſſible. Cratinus, the comic writer ſeems to have referred to theſe circumſtances in one of his pieces entitled Archilochi.

* Cimon's ward being afterwards called Oenei; it muſt be reconciled with this place from Stephanus who tells us, *the Laciadæ were a people of the ward Oeneas.*

Even I Metrobius, though a scrivener, hoped
To pass a cheerful and a sleek old age,
And live to my last hour at Cimon's table;
Cimon! the best and noblest of the Greeks!
Whose widespread bounty vied with that of heaven!
But, ah! he's gone before me!

Gorgias the Leontine gives him this character: "He got "riches to use them, and used them so as to be honored "on their account." And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, in his elegies thus expresses the utmost extent of his wishes:

The wealth of Scopas'* heirs, the soul of Cimon,
And the fam'd trophies of Agesilaus.

Lichas the Lacedæmonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks, by nothing but entertaining strangers who came to see the public exercises of the Spartan youth. But the magnificence of Cimon exceeded even the ancient hospitality and bounty of the Athenians. They indeed taught the Greeks to sow bread corn, to avail themselves of the use of wells, and of the benefit of fire; in these things they justly glory. But Cimon's house was a kind of common hall for all the people; the first fruits of his lands were theirs; whatever the seasons produced of excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered; nor were strangers in the least debarred from them; so that he in some measure revived the community of goods, which prevailed in the reign of Saturn, and which the poets tell so much of. Those who malevolently ascribed this liberality of his to a desire of flattering or courting the people, were refuted by the rest of his conduct, in which he favored the nobility, and inclined to the constitution and custom of Lacedæmon. When Themistocles wanted to raise the power and privileges of the commons too high, he joined Aristides to oppose him. In like manner he opposed Ephialtes, who, to ingratiate himself with the people, attempted to abolish the court of Areopagus. He saw all persons concerned in the the administration, except Aristides and Ephialtes, pillaging the public, yet he kept his own hands clean, and in all his speeches and actions continued to the last perfectly disinterested. One instance of this they give us in his behavior to

* Scopas, a rich Thessalian, is mentioned in the life of Cato.

Rhœsaces, a barbarian who had revolted from the king of Persia, and was come to Athens with great treasures. This man finding himself harrassed by informers there, applied to Cimon for his protection; and, to gain his favor, placed two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of silver darics, in his antichamber. Cimon, casting his eye upon them, smiled, and asked him, Whether he should choose "to have him his mercenary or his friend?" "My friend "undoubtedly," said the barbarian. "Go then," said Cimon, "and take these things back with you; for if I be "your friend, your money will be mine whenever I have "occasion for it."

About this time, the allies, though they paid their contributions, began to scruple the furnishing of ships and men. They wanted to bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquillity, particularly as the barbarians kept at home, and gave them no disturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by prosecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppressive and invidious. But Cimon took a different course when he had the command. He used no compulsion to any Grecian; he took money and ships unmanned of such as did not choose to serve in person; and thus suffered them to be led by the charms of ease to domestic employment, to husbandry and manufactures; so that of a warlike people, they became, through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleasure, quite unfit for any thing in the military department. On the other hand, he made all the Athenians in their turns serve on board his ships, and kept them in continual exercise. By these means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were always upon one expedition or other, had their weapons forever in their hands, and were trained up to every fatigue of service; hence it was that the allies learned to fear and to flatter them, and instead of being their fellow soldiers as formally insensibly became their tributaries and subjects.

Add to this, that no man humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king more than Cimon. Not satisfied with driving him out of Greece, he pursued his footsteps, and without suffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid waste

ſome parts of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league; inſomuch that in all Aſia, from Ionia to Pamphilia, there was not a Perſian ſtandard to be ſeen. As ſoon as he was informed that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphilian coaſts, he wanted to intimidate them in ſuch a manner that they ſhould never more venture beyond the Chelidonian iſles. For this purpoſe he ſet ſail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of two hundred galleys, which Themiſtocles had, in their firſt conſtruction, made light and fit to turn with the utmoſt agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each, that there might in time of action be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaſelis, which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet, nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories, and advanced to aſſault their walls. Hereupon, the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendſhip for the people of Phaſelis, on one ſide endeavored to pacify Cimon, and on the other addreſſed themſelves to the townſmen, by letters faſtened to arrows which they ſhot over the walls. At length they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were that the Phaſelites ſhould pay down ten talents, and ſhould follow Cimon's ſtandard againſt the barbarians.

Ephorus ſays, Tithrauſtes commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land forces; but Calliſthenes will have it, that Ariomandes the ſon of Gobryas was at the head of the Perſians. He tells us farther, that he lay at anchor in the river Eurymedon, and did not yet chooſe to come to an engagement with the Greeks, becauſe he expected a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ſhips from Cyprus. On the other hand Cimon wanted to prevent that junction, and therefore ſailed with a reſolution to compel the Perſians to fight, if they declined it. To avoid it, they puſhed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head againſt him, with ſix hundred ſhips, according to Phanodemus, or, as Ephorus writes, with three hundred and fifty. They performed, however, nothing worthy of ſuch a fleet, but preſently made for land. The foremoſt got on ſhore, and eſcaped to the army which was drawn up hard by. The Greeks laid hold on the reſt, and handled them very roughly, as well as their ſhips. A certain proof that the Perſian fleet was very numerous, is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were

deſtroyed, yet the Athenians took no leſs than two hundred veſſels.

The barbarian land forces advanced cloſe to the ſea; but it appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of ſword, and with his troops who were fatigued with the late action to engage thoſe that were quite freſh and many times their number. Notwithſtanding this, he ſaw the courage and ſpirits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very deſirous to be led againſt the enemy. He therefore diſembarked his heavy armed infantry, yet warm from the late action. They ruſhed forward with loud ſhouts, and the Perſians ſtood and received them with a good countenance. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the braveſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed among the Athenians were ſlain. At laſt with much difficulty the barbarians were put to the rout; many were killed, and many others were taken, together with their pavilions full of all manner of rich ſpoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day, and by theſe two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at ſea, and of Platæa at land. He added, however, a new trophy to his victories. Upon intelligence that the eighty Phœnician galleys, which were not in the battle, were arrived at Hydrus,* he ſteered that way as faſt as poſſible. They had not received any certain account of the forces to whoſe aſſiſtance they were going; and as this ſuſpenſe much intimidated them, they were eaſily defeated, with the loſs of all their ſhips and moſt of their men.

Theſe events ſo humbled the king of Perſia, that he came into that famous peace, which limited him to the diſtance of a day's journey † on horſeback from the Grecian ſea; and by which he engaged that none of his galleys or other ſhips of war ſhould ever come within the Cyanian and Chelidonian iſles. Calliſthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to theſe conditions; but he allows that his

* As no ſuch place as Hydrus is to be found, Lubinus thinks we ſhould read Sydra, which was a maritime town of Cilicia. Dacier propoſes to read Hydruſſa, which was one of the Cyclades. But perhaps, Hydrus is only a corruption of Cyprus; for Polyænus, [l. i.] tells us, Cimon ſailed thither immediately after his twofold victory. And he adds, that he went diſguiſed in a Perſian dreſs, which muſt be with a view to take in the Phœnician galleys.

† Four hundred furlongs.

ſubſequent behavior was equivalent to ſuch an agreement. For his fears conſequent upon the defeat, made him retire ſo far from Greece, that Pericles, with fifty ſhips, and Ephialtes, with no more than thirty, ſailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks, without meeting with any fleet of the barbarians. However, in the collection of Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in ſubſtance the ſame as we have related them. We are told alſo, that the Athenians built an altar to Peace on this occaſion, and that they paid particular honors to Callias, who negotiated the treaty. So much was raiſed from the ſale of the ſpoils, that beſide what was reſerved for other occaſions, the people had money enough to build the wall on the ſouth ſide of the citadel. Nay, ſuch was the treaſure this expedition afforded, that by it were laid the foundation of the long walls called Legs; they were not finiſhed indeed till ſome time after. And as the place where they were to be erected, was marſhy and full of water, Cimon, at his own expenſe, had the bottom ſecured, by ramming down large ſtones, and binding them with gravel. He too firſt adorned the city with thoſe elegant and noble places for exerciſe and diſputation, which a little after came to be ſo much admired. He planted the *forum* with plane trees; and whereas the Academy before was a dry and unſightly plat, he brought water to it, and ſheltered it with groves, ſo that it abounded with clean alleys and ſhady walks.

By this time the Perſians refuſed to evacuate the Cherſoneſus, and, inſtead of that called down the Thracians to their aſſiſtance. Cimon ſet out againſt them from Athens, with a very few galleys, and as they looked upon him with contempt on that account, he attacked them, and with four ſhips only, took thirteen of theirs. Thus he expelled the Perſians, and beat the Thracians too; by which ſucceſs he reduced the whole of Cherſoneſus to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at ſea the Thaſians who had revolted from the Athenians, took three and thirty of their ſhips and ſtormed their town. The gold mines which were in a neighboring continent he ſecured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thaſian territories.

From thence there was an eaſy opening to invade Macedonia, and poſſibly to conquer a great part of it; and as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to be owing to the preſents which king Alexander made him. His enemies,

therefore, impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence, he thus adreſſed his judges;—"I "have no connexion with rich Ionians or Theſſalians, "whom other generals have applied to, in hopes of re-"ceiving compliments and treaſures from them. My at-"tachment is to the Macedonians,* whoſe frugality and "ſobriety I honor and imitate; things preferable with "me to all the wealth in the world. I love indeed to en-"rich my country at the expenſe of its enemies." Steſimbrotus, who mentions this trial, ſays Elpinice, waited on Pericles at his own houſe, to entreat that he would behave with ſome lenity to her brother; for Pericles was the moſt vehement accuſer he had. At preſent he only ſaid, "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to tranſact ſuch "buſineſs as this." However, when the cauſe came on, he was favorable enough to Cimon, and roſe up only once to ſpeak during the whole impeachment, and then he did it in a ſlight manner. Cimon therefore was honorably acquitted.

As to the reſt of his adminiſtration, he oppoſed and reſtrained the people who were invading the province of the nobility, and wanted to appropriate the direction of every thing to themſelves. But when he was gone out upon a new expedition, they broke out again and overturning the conſtitution and moſt ſacred cuſtoms of their country, at the inſtigation of Ephialtes, they took from the council of Areopagus thoſe cauſes that uſed to come before it, and left it the cognizance of but very few. Thus, by bringing all matters before themſelves, they made the government a perfect democracy. And this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who by this time was grown very powerful, and had eſpouſed their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, at his return, the dignity of that high court inſulted; and he ſet himſelf to reſtore its juriſdiction, and to revive ſuch an ariſtocracy as had obtained under Cliſthenes. Upon this his adverſaries raiſed a great clamor, and exaſperated the people againſt him, not forgetting thoſe ſtories about his ſiſter, and his own attachment

* The manuſcripts in general have Lacedæmonians; and that is probably the true reading. For Cimon is well known to have had a ſtrong attachment to that people. Beſides, the Macedonians were not a ſober people. As to what ſome object, that it is ſtrange he ſhould make no mention of the Macedonians, when he was accuſed of being bribed by them; the anſwer is eaſy, we are not certain that Plutarch has given us all Cimon's defence.

e the Lacedæmonians. Hence thoſe verſes of Eupolis bout Cimon :—

> He's not a villain, but a debauchee,
> Whoſe careleſs heart is loſt on wine and women.
> The time has been, he ſlept in Lacedæmon,
> And left poor Elpinice here alone.

But if, with all his negligence and love of wine, he took o many cities, and gained ſo many victories, it is plain hat if he had been a ſober man, and attentive to buſineſs, one of the Greeks either before or after him, could have exceeded him in great and glorious actions.

From his firſt ſitting out in life, he had an attachment to he Lacedæmonians. According to Steſimbrotus, he called one of the twins he had by a Clitonian woman, Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus ; and Pericles often took occaſion to reproach them with their mean deſcent by the mother's ſide. But Diodorus, the geographer, writes, that he had both theſe ſons, and a third named Theſſalus, by Iſodice, daughter to Euriptolemus, the ſon of Megacles.

The Spartans contributed not a little to the promotion of Cimon. Being declared enemies to Themiſtocles, they much rather choſe to adhere to Cimon, though but a young man, at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians too at firſt ſaw this with pleaſure, becauſe they reaped great advantage from the regard which the Spartans had for Cimon. When they began to take the lead among the allies and were gaining the chief direction of all the buſineſs of the league, it was no uneaſineſs to them to ſee the honor and eſteem he was held in. Indeed, Cimon was the man they pitched upon for tranſacting that buſineſs, on account of his humane behavior to the allies, and his intereſt with the Lacedæmonians. But when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to ſee Cimon ſtill adoring the Spartans. For he was always magnifying that people at their expenſe ; and particularly, as Steſimbrotus tells us, when he had any fault to find with them, he uſed to ſay, "the Lacedæmonians would not have done ſo." On this account his countrymen began to envy and to hate him.

They had, however, a ſtill heavier complaint againſt him, which took its riſe as follows : In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, the ſon of Zeuxidamus, there hap-

pened the greateſt earthquake at Sparta that ever was heard of. The ground in many parts of Laconia was cleft aſunder; Mount Taygetus felt the ſhock, and its ridges were torn off; the whole city was diſmantled, except five houſes. The young men and boys were exerciſing in the portico, and it is ſaid that a little before the earthquake a hare croſſed the place, upon which the young men, naked and anointed as they were, ran out in ſport after it. The building fell upon the boys that remained, and deſtroyed them altogether. Their monument is ſtill called, from that event, Siſmatia.

Archidamus, amidſt the preſent danger, perceived another that was likely to enſue, and as he ſaw the people buſy in endeavoring to ſave their moſt valuable moveables, he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if ſome enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might repair to him immediately with their weapons in their hands. This was the only thing which at that criſis ſaved Sparta. For the Helots flocked together on all ſides from the fields to diſpatch ſuch as had eſcaped the earthquake; but finding them armed, and in good order, they returned to their villages, and declared open war. At the ſame time they perſuaded ſome of their neighbors, among whom were the Meſſenians, to join them againſt Sparta.

In this great diſtreſs, the Lacedæmonians ſent Pericleidas to Athens, to beg for ſuccors. Ariſtophanes,* in his comic way, ſays, "There was an extraordinary con-"traſt between his pale face and his red robe, as he ſat "a ſuppliant at the altars, and aſked us for troops." Ephialtes ſtrongly oppoſed and proteſted againſt giving any aſſiſtance to reeſtabliſh a city which was rival to their own, inſiſting that they ought rather to ſuffer the pride of Sparta to be trodden under foot. Cimon, however, as Critias tells us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of the Athenian power, and perſuaded the people to march with a great army to its aid. Ion mentions the words which had the moſt effect upon them. He deſired them, it ſeems, "not to ſuffer Greece to be maimed, nor "to deprive their own city of its companion."

When he returned from aſſiſting the Lacedæmonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his bringing in his troops without

* Lyſiſtrata, l. 1140.

permiſſion of the citizens: "For," ſaid he, "when we "knock at another man's door, we do not enter with- "out leave from the maſter." "But you, Larchartus," anſwered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone "and Megara, but broke them in pieces, and forced your "way in, upon this principle, that nothing ſhould be ſhut "againſt the ſtrong." With this boldneſs and propriety too did he ſpeak to the Corinthian, and then purſued his march.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a ſecond time againſt the Meſſenians and Helots in Ithome.* But when they were arrived, they were more afraid of their ſpirit of enterprize than of the enemy, and therefore, of all their allies, ſent them only back again, as perſons ſuſpected of ſome diſhonorable deſign. They returned full of reſentment of courſe,† and now openly declared themſelves againſt the partiſans of the Lacedæmonians, and particularly againſt Cimon. In conſequence of this, upon a ſlight pretence, they baniſhed him for ten years, which is the term the oſtraciſm extends to.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, in their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tengara. The Athenians came to give them battle. On this occaſion Cimon appeared in arms among thoſe of his own tribe, which was that of Oeneis, to fight for his country againſt the Lacedæmonians. When the council of five hundred heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raiſe a clamor againſt him, as if he was only come to throw things into confuſion, and to bring the Lacedæmonians into Athens, and therefore forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon, upon this, retired, after he had deſired Euthippus the Anaphlyſtian, and the reſt of his friends, who were moſt cenſured as partiſans of Sparta, to exert themſelves glorioufly againſt the enemy, and by their behavior to wipe off the aſperſion.

Theſe brave men, in number about a hundred, took Cimon's armor (as a ſacred pledge) into the midſt of their little band, formed themſelves into a cloſe body, and fought till they all fell with the greateſt ardor imaginable. The Athenians regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjuſt cenſures they had fixed upon them. Their reſent-

* The Spartans were not ſkilled in ſieges.

† The Athenians, in reſentment of this affront, broke the alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives. *Thucyd.* l. i.

ment againſt Cimon, too, ſoon abated, partly from the remembrance of his paſt ſervices, and partly from the difficulties they lay under at the preſent juncture. They were beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra, and they expected another army would come againſt them from Peloponneſus the next ſpring. Hence it was, that they recalled Cimon from baniſhment, and Pericles himſelf was the firſt to propoſe it. With ſo much candor were differences managed then, ſo moderate the reſentments of men, and ſo eaſily laid down, where the public good required it! Ambition itſelf, the ſtrongeſt of all paſſions, yielded to the intereſts and neceſſities of their country!

Cimon, ſoon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace was made, he ſaw the Athenians could not ſit down quietly, but ſtill wanted to be in motion, and to aggrandize themſelves by new expeditions. To prevent their exciting farther troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for inteſtine wars, and heavy complaints of the allies againſt Athens, on account of their formidable fleets traverſing the ſeas about the iſlands and round Peloponneſus, he fitted out a fleet of two hundred ſail, to carry war again into Egypt and Cyprus.* This he thought would anſwer two intentions; it would

* The hiſtory of the firſt expedition is this: While Cimon was employed in his enterprize againſt Cyprus, Inarus, king of Lybia, having brought the greateſt part of lower Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes, called in the Athenians to aſſiſt him to complete his conqueſt. Hereupon the Athenians quitted Cyprus, and ſailed into Egypt. They made themſelves maſters of the Nile, and attacking Memphis, ſeized two of the outworks, and attempted the third, called the *white wall*. But the expedition proved very unfortunate. Artaxerxes ſent Megabyzus with a powerful army into Egypt. He defeated the rebels, and the Lybians their aſſociates; drove the Greeks from Memphis, ſhut them up in the iſland of Proſpitis eighteen months, and at laſt forced them to ſurrender. They almoſt all periſhed in that war, which laſted ſix years. Inarus, in violation of the public faith, was crucified.

The ſecond expedition was undertaken a few years after, and was not more ſucceſsful. The Athenians went againſt Cyprus with 200 galleys. While they were beſieging Citium there, Amyrtæus the Saite applied to them for ſuccors in Egypt, and Cimon ſent him 60 of his galleys. Some ſay he went with them himſelf; others, that he continued before Citium. But nothing of moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the Perſians in Egypt. However, in the tenth year of Darius Nothus, Armytæus iſſued from the fens, and being joined by all the Egyptians, drove the Perſians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country. *Thucyd.* l. ii. *Diod. Sic.* l. xi.

accuſtom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their ſubſtance in an honorable manner, by bringing the rich ſpoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had this dream: An angry bitch ſeemed to bay at him, and, ſomething between barking and a human voice, to utter theſe words:—*Come on; I and my whelps with pleaſure ſhall receive thee.* Though the dream was hard to interpret, Aſtyphilus the Poſidonian, a great diviner, and friend of Cimon's, told him it ſignified his death: He argued thus; a dog is an enemy to the man he barks at; and no one can give his enemy greater pleaſure than by his death. The mixture of the voice pointed out that the enemy was a Mede, for the armies of the Medes are compoſed of Greeks and barbarians. After this dream he had another ſign in ſacrificing to Bacchus. When the prieſt had killed the victim, a ſwarm of ants took up the clotted blood by little and little, and laid it upon Cimon's great toe. This they did for ſome time without any one's taking notice of it; at laſt Cimon himſelf obſerved it, and at the ſame inſtant the ſoothſayer came and ſhowed him the liver without a head.

The expedition, however, could not now be put off, and therefore he ſet ſail. He ſent ſixty of his galleys againſt Egypt, and with the reſt made for the Aſiatic coaſt, where he defeated the king's fleet, conſiſting of Phœnician and Cilician ſhips, made himſelf maſter of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Every thing was great in the deſigns he formed. He thought of nothing leſs than overturning the whole Perſian empire; and the rather, becauſe he was informed that Themiſtocles was in great reputation and power with the barbarians, and had promiſed the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war, whenever he entered upon it. But Themiſtocles, they tell us, in deſpair of managing it to any advantage, and of getting the better of the good fortune and valor of Cimon, fell by his own hand.

When Cimon had formed theſe great projects, as a firſt ſtep towards them, he caſt anchor before Cyprus. From thence he ſent perſons in whom he could confide with a private queſtion to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; for their errand was entirely unknown. Nor did the deity return them any anſwer, but immediately upon their arrival

ordered them to return, "Becauſe Cimon," ſaid he, "is "already with me." The meſſengers, upon this, took the road to the ſea, and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was then on the coaſts of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then inquired what day he died, and comparing it with the time the oracle was delivered, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed at in the expreſſion, "That he was already with the "gods."

According to moſt authors he died a natural death during the ſiege of Citium; but ſome ſay, he died of a wound he received in an engagement with the barbarians.

The laſt advice he gave thoſe about him, was to ſail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real ſtate of the caſe, they returned in ſafety, by the generalſhip of Cimon, exerciſed, as Phynodemus ſays, thirty days after his death.

After he was gone, there was not one Grecian general who did any thing conſiderable againſt the barbarians. The leading orators were little better than incendiaries, who ſet the Greeks one againſt another, and involved them in inteſtine wars; nor was there any healing hand to interpoſe. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themſelves, and inexpreſſible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this, indeed, Ageſilaus carried his arms into Aſia, and renewed the war a while againſt the king's lieutenants on the coaſt; but he was ſo ſoon recalled by the ſeditions and tumults which broke out againſt Greece, that he could do nothing extraordinary. The Perſian taxgatherers were then left amidſt the cities in alliance and friendſhip with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command, not a ſingle collector was ſeen, nor ſo much as a horſeman appeared within four hundred furlongs from the ſeacoaſt.

That his remains were brought to Attica, his monument there is a ſufficient proof, for it ſtill bears the title of Cimonia. Nevertheleſs, the people of Citium have a tomb of Cimon, which they hold in great veneration, as Nauſicrates the orator informs us; the gods having ordered them in a certain famine not to diſregard his *manes*, but to honor and worſhip him as a ſuperior being. Such was this Grecian general.

LUCULLUS.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of conſular dignity; Metellus, ſurnamed Numidicus, was his uncle by the mother's ſide. His father was found guilty of embezzling the public money, and his mother, Cæcilia, had but an indifferent reputation for chaſtity. As for Lucullus himſelf, while he was but a youth, before he ſolicited any public charge, or attempted to gain a ſhare in the adminiſtration, he made his firſt appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's accuſer. As he had caught Servilius in ſome act of injuſtice in the execution of his office, all the world commended the proſecution, and talked of it as an indication of extraordinary ſpirit. Indeed, where there was no injury to revenge, the Romans conſidered the buſineſs of impeachments as a generous purſuit, and they choſe to have their young men faſten upon criminals, like ſo many well bred hounds upon their prey.

The cauſe was argued with ſo much vehemence, that they came to blows, and ſeveral were wounded, and ſome killed; in the end, however, Servilius was acquitted. But though Lucullus loſt his cauſe, he had great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues; inſomuch that Sylla dedicated his Commentaries to him, as a perſon who could reduce the acts and incidents to much better order, and compoſe a more agreeable hiſtory of them than himſelf. For his eloquence was not only occaſional, or exerted when neceſſity called for it, like that of other orators who beat about in the *forum*.

As ſports the vaulting tunny in the main,
But when they are out of it,
Are dry, inelegant, and dead—

He had applied himſelf to the ſciences called *liberal*, and was deep in the ſtudy of *humanity* from his youth; and in his age he withdrew from public labors, of which he had had a great ſhare, to repoſe himſelf in the boſom of philoſophy, and to enjoy the ſpeculations ſhe ſuggeſted; bidding a timely adieu to ambition after his difference

with Pompey. To what we have ſaid of his ingenuity and ſkill in languages, the following ſtory may be added. While he was but a youth, as he waſt jeſting one day with Hortenſius the orator, and Siſenna the hiſtorian, he undertook to write a ſhort hiſtory of the Marſi, either in Greek or Latin verſe, as the lot ſhould fall. They took him at his word, and according to the lot, it was to be in Greek. That hiſtory of his is ſtill extant.

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans ſpeak moſt of the firſt. Though he was much older than Marcus, he would not accept of any office without him, but waited his time. This was ſo agreeable to the people, that in his abſence they created him ædile along with his brother.

Though he was but a ſtripling at the time of the Marſian war, there appeared many inſtances of his courage and underſtanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his conſtancy and mildneſs. On this account he made uſe of his ſervices from firſt to laſt in his moſt important affairs. Amongſt other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he who coined moſt of Sylla's money in Peloponneſus, during the Mithridatic war. From him it was called Lucullia; and it continued to be chiefly in uſe for the occaſions of the army, for the goodneſs of it made it paſs with eaſe.

Some time after this, Sylla engaged in the ſiege of Athens; and though he was victorious by land, the ſuperiority of the enemy at ſea ſtraitened him for proviſions. For this reaſon he diſpatched Lucullus into Egypt and Lybia, to procure him a ſupply of ſhips. It was then the depth of winter; yet he ſcrupled not to ſail with three ſmall Greek brigantines and as many ſmall Rhodian galleys, which were to meet ſtrong ſeas, and a number of the enemy's ſhips which kept watch on all ſides, becauſe their ſtrength lay there. In ſpite of this oppoſition he reached Crete, and brought it over to Sylla's intereſt.

From thence he paſſed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people from the tyrants and civil wars with which they had been harraſſed, and reeſtabliſhed their conſtitution. In this he availed himſelf of a ſaying of Plato, who when he was deſired to give them a body of laws, and to ſettle their government upon rational principles, gave them this oracular anſwer, "It is very difficult to

"give laws to so prosperous a people." In fact nothing is harder to govern than man when fortune smiles, nor any thing more tractable than he when calamity lays her hands upon him. Hence it was, that Lucullus found the Cyrenians so pliant and submissive to his regulations.

From Cyrenne he sailed to Egypt, but was attacked by pirates on his way, and lost most of the vessels he had collected. He himself escaped, and entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, being conducted in by the whole Egyptian fleet, set off to the best advantage, as it used to be when it attended the king in person. Ptolemy,* who was but a youth, received him with all demonstrations of respect, and even lodged and provided him a table in his own palace; an honor which had not been granted before to any foreign commander. Nor was the allowance for his expenses the same which others had, but four times as much. Lucullus, however, took no more than was absolutely necessary, and refused the king's presents, though he was offered no less than the value of eighty talents. It is said, he neither visited Memphis, nor any other of the celebrated wonders of Egypt; thinking it rather the business of a person who has time, and only travels for pleasure, than of him who had left his general engaged in a siege and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refused to enter into alliance with Sylla, for fear of bringing war upon himself, but he gave Lucullus a convoy to escort him to Cyprus, embraced him at parting, and respectfully offered him a rich emerald set in gold. Lucullus at first declined it, but upon the king's showing him his own picture engraved on it, he was afraid to refuse it, lest he should be thought to go away with hostile intentions, and in consequence have some fatal scheme formed against him at sea.

In his return he collected a number of ships from the maritime towns, excepting those that had given shelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he passed

* Palmerus takes this for Ptolemy Auletes; but Auletes was not king till the year before Christ sixtyfive. It must, therefore, have been Ptolemy Lathyrus. For Sylla concluded the peace with Mithridates in the year before Christ eightytwo.

over to Cyprus. There he found that the enemy's ſhips lay in wait for him under ſome point of land; and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all neceſſaries, as if he intended to paſs the winter there. But as ſoon as the wind ſerved, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his ſails in the day time, and hoiſting them again when it grew dark; by which ſtratagem he got ſafe to Rhodes. There he got a freſh ſupply of ſhips, and found means to perſuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates and join him againſt the Samians. With his own forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios; took Epigonus, the Colophonian tyrant, priſoner, and ſet the people free.

At this time Mithridates was forced to abandon Pergamus, and had retired to Pitana. As Fimbria ſhut him up by land, he caſt his eyes upon the ſea, and in deſpair of facing in the field that bold and victorious officer, collected his ſhips from all quarters. Fimbria ſaw this, but was ſenſible of his want of naval ſtrength, and therefore ſent to entreat Lucullus to come with his fleet, and aſſiſt him in taking a king who was the moſt warlike and virulent enemy the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," ſaid he, "the glorious prize which has been ſought in "ſo many labors and conflicts, eſcape; as he is fallen "into the hands of the Romans, and is already in their "net. When he is taken, who will have a greater ſhare "in the honor than he who ſtops his flight, and catches "him as he goes? If I ſhut him up by land, and you do "the ſame by ſea, the palm will be all our own. What "value will Rome then ſet upon the actions of Sylla at "Orchomenus and Chæronea, though now ſo much ex-"tolled?"

There was nothing abſurd in the propoſal. Every body ſaw, that if Lucullus, who was at no great diſtance, had brought up his fleet, and blocked up the harbor, the war would have been at an end, and they would all have been delivered from infinite calamities. But whether it was that he preferred his fidelity as Sylla's lieutenant, to his own intereſt and that of the public; whether he abhorred Fimbria, as a villain whoſe ambition had lately led him to murder his general and his friend; or whether by ſome overruling influence of fortune he reſerved

Mithridates for his own antagoniſt, he abſolutely rejected the propoſal. He ſuffered him to get out of the harbor, and to laugh at Fimbra's land forces.

After this, he had the honor of beating the king's fleet twice. The firſt time was at Lectum a promontory of Troas; the ſecond at Tenedos, where he ſaw Neoptolemus at anchor with a more conſiderable force. Upon this, Lucullus advanced before the reſt of his ſhips, in a Rhodian galley of five banks of oars, commanded by Demagoras, a man very faithful to the Romans, and experienced in naval affairs. Neoptolemus met him with great fury, and ordered the maſter of the ſhip to ſtrike againſt that of Lucullus. But Demagoras fearing the weight of the admiral's galley, and the ſhock of its brazen beak, thought it dangerous to meet him ahead. He therefore tacked about, and received him aſtern, in which place he received no great damage, becauſe the ſtroke was upon the lower parts of the ſhip, which were under water. In the mean time the reſt of the fleet coming up, Lucullus ordered his own ſhip to tack again, fell upon the enemy, and after many gallant actions, put them to flight, and purſued Neoptolemus for ſome time.

This done, he went to meet Sylla, who was going to croſs the ſea from Cherſoneſus. Here he ſecured his paſſage, and helped to tranſport his army. When the peace was agreed upon,* Mithridates ſailed into the Euxine ſea, and Sylla laid a fine upon Aſia of twenty thouſand talents. Lucullus was commiſſioned to collect the tax, and to coin the money; and it was ſome conſolation to the cities, amidſt the ſeverity of Sylla, that Lucullus acted not only with the utmoſt juſtice, but with all the lenity that ſo difficult and odious a charge would admit of.

As the Mityleneans had openly revolted, he wanted to bring them to acknowlege their fault, and pay a moderate fine for having joined Marius's party. But, led by their ill genius, they continued obſtinate. Upon this, he went againſt them with his fleet, beat them in a great battle, and ſhut them up within their walls. Some days after he had bugun the ſiege, he had recourſe to this

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* This peace was concluded in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ſixtynine, eight years before the death of Sylla.

ſtratagem. In open day he ſet ſail towards Elea, but returned privately at night, and lay cloſe near the city. The Mytileneans then ſallying out in a bold and diſorderly manner to plunder his camp, which they thought he had abandoned, he fell upon them, took moſt of them priſoners, and killed five hundred who ſtood upon their defence. Here he got ſix thouſand ſlaves, and an immenſe quantity of other ſpoil.

He had no hand in the various and unſpeakable evils which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy; for by the favor of Providence he was engaged in the affairs of Aſia. Yet none of Sylla's friends had greater intereſt with him. Sylla as we have ſaid, out of particular regard, dedicated his Commentaries to him; and, paſſing Pompey by, in his laſt will conſtituted him guardian to his ſon. This ſeems to have firſt occaſioned thoſe differences and that jealouſy which ſubſiſted between Pompey and Lucullus, both young men and full of ardor in the purſuit of glory.

A little after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was choſen conſul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and ſeventyſixth Olympiad. At this time many propoſed to renew the war with Mithridates, and Cotta himſelf ſaid, "The fire was not extinguiſhed, it only ſlept in embers." Lucullus, therefore, was much concerned at having the Ciſalpine Gaul allotted as his province, which promiſed him no opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf. But the honor Pompey had acquired in Spain, gave him moſt trouble; becauſe that general's ſuperior reputation, he clearly ſaw, after the Spaniſh war was ended, would entitle him to the command againſt Mithridates. Hence it was, that when Pompey applied for money, and informed the government, that if he was not ſupplied, he muſt leave Spain and Sertorius, and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himſelf to procure the ſupplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatever during his conſulſhip. He knew that every meaſure at home would be under Pompey's direction, if he came with ſuch an army. For at this very time, the tribune Cethegus, who had the lead, becauſe he conſulted nothing but the humor of the people, was at enmity with Lucullus, on account of his deteſting that tribune's life, polluted as it was with infamous amors, inſolence, and every ſpecies

of profligacy. Againſt this man he declared open war. Lucius Quintius, another tribune, wanted to annul the acts of Sylla, and to diſorder the whole face of affairs, which was now tolerably compoſed. But Lucullus, by private repreſentations and public remonſtrances, drew him from his purpoſe, and reſtrained his ambition. Thus in the moſt polite and ſalutary way imaginable, he deſtroyed the ſeeds of a very dangerous diſeaſe.

About this time news was brought of the death of Octavius, governor of Cilicia. There were many competitors for that province, and they all paid their court to Cethegus, as the perſon moſt likely to procure it for them. Lucullus ſet no great value upon that government; but, as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would not think of employing any other general againſt Mithridates. For this reaſon, he exerted all his art to ſecure the province to himſelf. At laſt he was neceſſitated againſt the bent of his diſpoſition, to give into a meaſure which was indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpoſe.

There was a woman then in Rome named Præcia, famed for beauty and enchanting wit, but in other reſpects no better than a common proſtitute. By applying her intereſt with thoſe who frequented her houſe, and were fond of her company, to ſerve her friends in the adminiſtration, and in other affairs, ſhe added to her other accompliſhments the reputation of being a uſeful friend, and a woman of buſineſs. This exalted her not a little. But when ſhe had captivated Cethegus, who then was in the height of his glory, and carried all before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her hands. Nothing was done without the favor of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus, without the conſent of Præcia. To her Lucullus applied by preſents, and the moſt inſinuating compliments; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and pompous woman, than to ſee herſelf flattered and courted by ſuch a man as Lucullus. The conſequence was, that Cethegus immediately eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſolicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no farther need, either of Præcia or Cethegus. All came into his intereſt, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He, indeed, could not but be conſidered as the fitteſt perſon for that charge, becauſe

Pompey was engaged with Sertorius, and Metellus had given up his pretenſions on account of his great age; and theſe were the only perſons who could ſtand in competition for it with Lucullus. However, his colleague Cotta, by much application prevailed upon the ſenate, to ſend him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bythinia.

Lucullus, with a legion now levied in Italy, paſſed over into Aſia, where he found the reſt of the troops that were to compoſe his army. Theſe had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice; and that part of them called Fimbrians, was more untractable than the reſt, on account of their having been under no command. At the inſtigation of Fimbria, they had killed Flaccus, who was conſul, and their general too, and had betrayed Fimbria himſelf to Sylla; and they were ſtill mutinous and lawleſs men, though in other reſpects brave, hardy, and experienced ſoldiers. Nevertheleſs, Lucullus in a little time ſubdued the ſeditious ſpirit of theſe men, and corrected the faults of the reſt; ſo that now they firſt found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to ſerve by indulgence and every promiſe of pleaſure.

The affairs of the enemy were in this poſture. Mithridates, like a ſophiſtical warrior, had formerly met the Romans in a vain and oſtentatious manner, with forces that were ſhowy and pompous indeed, but of little uſe. Baffled and diſgraced in his attempt, he grew wiſer, and therefore in this ſecond war he provided troops that were capable of real ſervice. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and thoſe bravadoes that were iſſued from his camp, in a barbarous variety of language, together with the rich arms, adorned with gold and precious ſtones, which he now conſidered rather as the ſpoils of the conqueror, than as adding any vigor to the men that wore them. Inſtead of this, he armed them with ſwords in the Roman faſhion, and with large and heavy ſhields; and his cavalry he provided with horſes rather well trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry conſiſted of a hundred and twenty thouſand, and his cavalry of ſixteen thouſand, beſides armed chariots, to the number of a hundred. His navy was not equipped, as before, with gilded pavilions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women, but with

all manner of weapons, offenſive and defenſive, and money to pay the troops.

In this reſpectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleaſure; and not only that country, but all Aſia returned to its former diſtempered inclinations, by reaſon of the intolerable evils that the Roman uſurers and tax gatherers had brought upon them. Theſe Lucullus afterwards drove away, like ſo many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At preſent he was ſatisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them to exerciſe their office with more moderation; by which means he kept the Aſiatics from revolting, when their inclination lay almoſt univerſally that way.

While Lucullus was employed in theſe matters, Cotta, thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And as he had accounts from many hands, that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did every thing to expedite the engagement, in order to prevent Lucullus from having any ſhare in the triumph, which he believed was now all his own. He was defeated, however, both by ſea and land, with the loſs of ſixty ſhips, and all their crews, as well as four thouſand land forces; after which he was ſhut up in Chalcedon, and had no reſource, except in the aſſiſtance of Lucullus. Lucullus was adviſed, notwithſtanding, to take no notice of Cotta, but to march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates, which he would find in a defenceleſs ſtate. On this occaſion the ſoldiers were loudeſt in their complaints. They repreſented, that Cotta had, by his raſh counſels, not only ruined himſelf and his own men, but done them too great prejudice; ſince, had it not been for his error, they might have conquered without loſs. But Lucullus, in a ſet ſpeech upon this ſubject, told them: "He had rather deliver one Ro-"man out of the enemy's hand, than take all the enemy "had." And when Archelaus, who formerly had commanded the king's forces in Bœotia, but now was come over to the Romans, and fought for them, aſſerted, "That "if Lucullus would but once make his appearance in "Pontus, all would immediately fall before him;" he ſaid, "He would not act in a more cowardly manner than hun-"ters, nor paſs the wild beaſts by, and go to their empty "dens." He had no ſooner uttered theſe words, than he

marched againſt Mithridates with thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe.

When he got ſight of the enemy, he was aſtoniſhed at their numbers, and determined to avoid a battle and gain time. But Marius,* a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had ſent to Mithridates out of Spain with ſome troops, advanced to meet Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Luccullus accepted it, and put his army in order of battle. The ſignal was juſt ready to be given, when, without any viſible alteration, there was a ſudden exploſion in the air, and a large luminous body was ſeen to fall between the two armies; its form was like that of a large tun, and its color that of molten ſilver. Both ſides were ſo affected with the phenomenon, that they parted without ſtriking a blow. This prodigy is ſaid to have happened in Phrygia at a place called Otryæ.

Lucullus concluding that no human ſupplies could be ſufficient to maintain ſo many myriads as Mithridates had, for any length of time, eſpecially in preſence of an enemy, ordered one of the priſoners to be brought before him. The firſt queſtion he put to him was, how many there were in his meſs, and the ſecond, what proviſions he had left in his tent? When he had this man's anſwer, he commanded him to withdraw; and then examined a ſecond and a third in like manner. The next thing was to compare the quantity of proviſions which Mithridates had laid in, with the number of ſoldiers he had to ſupport; by which he found that in three or four days they would be in want of bread corn. This confirmed him in his deſign of gaining time; and he cauſed great plenty of proviſions to be brought into his own camp, that in the midſt of abundance he might watch the enemy's diſtreſs.

Notwithſtanding this, Mithridates formed a deſign againſt the Cyzicenians, who were beaten in the late battle near Chalcedon,† and had loſt three thouſand men and ten ſhips. To deceive Lucullus he decamped ſoon after ſupper, one dark tempeſtuous night; and marched with ſo much expedition, that at break of day he got be-

* Appian calls him Varius.
† Along with Cotta.

fore the town, and posted himself upon mount Adrastia.* As soon as Lucullus perceived he was gone, he followed his steps; and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obscurity of the night, as he might easily have done, he reached the place of his destination, and sat down at a village called Thraceia, the most commodious situation imaginable for guarding the roads and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He was now so sure of his aim, that he concealed it no longer from his men; but when they had intrenched themselves, and returned from their labor, called them together, and told them with great triumph, "In a few "days he would gain them a victory which should not cost "one drop of blood."

Mithridates had planted his troops in ten different posts about the city, and with his vessels blocked up the frith which parts it from the continent,† so that it was invested on all sides. The Cyzicenians were prepared to combat the greatest difficulties, and to suffer the last extremities in the Roman cause; but they knew not where Lucullus was, and were much concerned that they could get no account of him. Though his camp was visible enough, the enemy had the art to impose upon them. Pointing to the Romans who were posted on the heights, "Do you see that army," said they, "Those are the Armenians "and Medes, whom Tigranes has sent as a reinforcement "to Mithridates." Surrounded with such an immense number of enemies, as they thought, and having no hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they were in the utmost consternation.

When Demonax, whom Archelaus found means to send into the town,‡ brought them news that Lucullus was arrived, at first they could hardly believe it; imagining he came only with a feigned story, to encourage them to bear up in their present distress. However, the same mo-

* So called from a temple in the city consecrated by Adrastus to the goddess Nemesis, who from thence had the name of Adrastia.

† Strabo says, Cyzicus lies upon the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges, near which is a city of the same name, with two harbors capable of containing two hundred vessels. *Strab.* l. xii.

‡ By the assistance of bladders he swam into the town. *Florus*, l. iii.

ment, a boy made his appearance who had been a priſoner among the enemy, and had juſt made his eſcape. Upon their aſking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jeſt; but when he ſaw they were in earneſt, he pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This ſufficiently revived their drooping ſpirits.

In the lake Daſcylites, near Cyzicus, there were veſſels of a conſiderable ſize. Lucullus hauled up the largeſt of them, put it upon a carriage, and drew it down to the ſea. Then he put on board it as many ſoldiers as it could contain, and ordered them to get into Cyzicus, which they effected in the night.

It ſeems too, that heaven, delighted with the valor of the Cyzicenians, ſupported them with ſeveral remarkable ſigns. The feaſt of Proſerpine was come, when they were to ſacrifice a black heifer to her; and as they had no living animal of that kind, they made one of paſte,* and were approaching the altar with it. The victim, bred for that purpoſe, paſſured with the reſt of their cattle on the other ſide of the frith. On that very day ſhe parted from the herd, ſwam alone to the town, and preſented herſelf before the altar. The ſame goddeſs appeared to Ariſtogoras, the public ſecretary, in a dream, and ſaid, "Go and tell your fellow citizens to take cou-"rage, for I ſhall bring the African piper againſt the "trumpeter of Pontus."

While the Cyzicenians were wondering at this oracular expreſſion, in the morning a ſtrong wind blew, and the ſea was in the utmoſt agitation. The king's machines erected againſt the walls, the wonderful work of Niconidus the Theſſalian, by the noiſe and cracking firſt announced what was to come. Then a ſouth wind incredibly violent aroſe, and in the ſhort ſpace of an hour broke all the engines to pieces, and deſtroyed the wooden tower which was an hundred cubits high. It is moreover related, that Minerva was ſeen by many at Ilium in their ſleep, all covered with ſweat, and with part of her veil rent; and that ſhe ſaid, ſhe was juſt come from aſſiſting

* The Pythagoreans, who thought it unlawful to kill any animal, ſeem to have been the firſt among the Greeks who offered the figures of animals in paſte, myrrh, or ſome other compoſition.—The poorer ſort of Egyptians are ſaid to have done the ſame from another principle.

the people of Cyzicus. Nay, they showed at Ilium a pillar which had an inscription to that purpose.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine that prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miscarriage in the siege. But when he came to be sensible of the extremity to which his soldiers were reduced, and that they were forced even to eat human flesh,* all his ambition and spirit of contention died away. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical ostentatious manner, but aimed his blows at his very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of provisions. He therefore seized his opportunity, while the Roman was attacking a certain fort, to send off almost all his cavalry and his beasts of burden, as well as the least useful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was apprised of their departure, he retired during the night into his camp. Next morning there was a violent storm; nevertheless he began the pursuit with ten cohorts of foot, beside his cavalry. All the way he was greatly incommoded by the snow, and the cold was so piercing that several of his soldiers sunk under it, and were forced to stop. With the rest he overtook the enemy at the river Rhyndacus, and made such havoc among them, that the women of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys and to strip the slain.

The slain, as may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made fifteen thousand prisoners; beside which, he took six thousand horses and an infinite number of beasts of burden. And he made it his business to lead them all by the enemy's camp.

I cannot help wondering at Sallust's saying, that this was the first time that the Romans saw a camel.† How

*There is something extremely improbable in this. It does not appear that Mithridates was so totally blocked up by Lucullus as to reduce him to this extremity; and even had that been the case, it would certainly have been more eligible to have risked a battle, than to have submitted to the dreadful alternative here mentioned. But wherefore eat human flesh, when afterwards we are expressly told that they had beasts to send away? There is, to the best of our knowledge and belief, as little foundation in history for his practice, as there is in nature.

† Livy expressly tells us, there were camels in Antiochus's army "Before the cavalry were placed the chariots armed with scythes, "and camels of that species called dromedaries." Liv. lib. xxxvii. c. 40.

could he think that thoſe who formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus, and lately defeated Archelaus at Orchomenus and Chæronea, ſhould be unacquainted with that animal.

Mithridates now reſolved upon a ſpeedy flight; and to amuſe Lucullus with employment in another quarter, he ſent his admiral Ariſtonicus to the Grecian ſea. But juſt as he was on the point of ſailing, he was betrayed to Lucullus, together with ten thouſand pieces of gold, which he took with him to corrupt ſome part of the Roman forces. After this, Mithridates made his eſcape by ſea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the beſt manner they could. Lucullus coming up with them at the river Granicus, killed full twenty thouſand, and made a prodigious number of priſoners. It is ſaid that in this campaign the enemy loſt near three hundred thouſand men, reckoning the ſervants of the army as well as ſoldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he was received with every teſtimony of joy and reſpect. After which he went to the Helleſpont, to collect ſhips to make up a fleet. On this occaſion he touched at Troas, and ſlept there in the temple of Venus. The goddeſs, he dreamt, ſtood by him, and addreſſed him as follows:

> Doſt thou then ſleep, great monarch of the woods?
> The fawns are ruſtling near thee.——

Upon this, he roſe, and calling his friends together while it was yet dark, related to them the viſion. He had hardly made an end, when meſſengers arrived from Ilium with an account that they had ſeen off the Grecian harbor* thirteen of the king's large galleys ſteering towards Lemnos. He went in purſuit of them without loſing a moment, took them and killed their admiral Iſidorus. When this was done, he made all the ſail he could after ſome others which were before. Theſe lay at anchor by the iſland; and as ſoon as the officers perceived his approach, they hauled the ſhips aſhore, and fighting from the decks, galled the Romans exceedingly. The Romans had no chance to ſurround them; nor could their galleys,

* Plutarch means the harbor where the Grecians landed when they were going to the ſiege of Troy.

which were by the waves kept in continual motion, make any impreſſion upon thoſe of the enemy which were on firm ground, and ſtood immoveable. At laſt having with much difficulty, found a landing place, he put ſome of his troops on ſhore, who taking them in the rear, killed a number of them, and forced the reſt to cut their cables and ſtand out to ſea. In the confuſion the veſſels daſhed one againſt another, or fell upon the beaks of thoſe of Lucullus. The deſtruction conſequently was great. Marius, the general ſent by Sertorius, was among the priſoners. He had but one eye; and Lucullus, when he firſt ſet ſail, had given his men a ſtrict charge not to kill any perſon with one eye, in order that he might be reſerved for a death of greater torture and diſgrace.

After this, he haſtened to purſue Mithridates himſelf, whom he hoped to find in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He had ſent this officer before with a fleet to Nicomedia, to prevent the king's eſcape. But Voconius had loitered in Samothrace about getting himſelf initiated in the myſteries* and celebrating feſtivals. Mithridates in the mean time had got out, and was making great efforts to reach Pontus before Lucullus could come to ſtop him. But a violent tempeſt overtook him, by which many of his veſſels were daſhed to pieces and many ſunk. The whole ſhore was covered with the wreck which the ſea threw up for ſeveral days. As for the king himſelf, the ſhip in which he ſailed was ſo large, that the pilots could not make land with it amidſt ſuch a terrible agitation of the waves, and it was by this time ready to founder with the water it had taken in. He therefore got into a ſhallop belonging to ſome pirates, and truſting his life to their hands, beyond all hope was brought ſafe to Heraclea in Pontus, after having paſſed through the moſt unſpeakable dangers.

In this war Lucullus behaved to the ſenate of Rome with an honeſt pride, which had its ſucceſs. They had decreed him three thouſand talents to enable him to fit

* The myſteries of the Cabiri. The worſhip of theſe gods was probably brought from Phœnicia; for CABIR, in the language of that country, ſignifies powerful. They were reverenced as the moſt tremendous of ſuperior beings; the more ſo, becauſe of the myſterious and awful ſolemnities of their worſhip. Some have pretended to give us account of their names, though they were locked up in the profoundeſt ſecrecy.

out a fleet. But he acquainted them by letters that he had no need of the money, and boasted that, without so much expense and such mighty preparations, he would drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships the allies would give him. And he performed his promise by the assistance of a superior power. For the tempest, which ruined the Pontic fleet, is said to have been raised by the resentment of Diana of Priapus, for their plundering her temple and beating down her statue.

Lucullus was now advised by many of his officers to let the war sleep awhile; but without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he found provisions so scarce, that he was forced to have thirty thousand Gauls follow him with each a measure* of wheat upon his shoulders. But as he proceeded farther in his march, and bore down all opposition, he came to such plenty, that an ox was sold for one drachma, and a slave for four. The rest of the booty was so little regarded, that some left it behind them, and others destroyed it; for amidst such abundance, they could not find a purchaser. Having, in the excursions of their cavalry, laid waste all the country as far as Themiscyræ and about the river Thermodon, they complained that Lucullus took all the towns by capitulation, instead of storm, and gave not up one to the soldiers for plunder. "Now," said they, "you leave "Amisus, a rich and flourishing city, which might be "easily taken, if you would assault it vigorously; and "drag us after Mithridates into the wastes of Tibarene and "Chaldæa."

Lucullus, however, not thinking they would break out into that rage which afterwards appeared, neglected their remonstrances. He took more pains to excuse himself to those who blamed his slow progress, and his losing time in reducing towns and villages of little consequence, while Mithridates was again gathering power. "This is the "very thing," said he, "that I want, and aim at in all "my operations, that Mithridates may get strength, and "collect an army respectable enough, to make him "stand an engagement, and not continue to fly before "us. Do not you see what vast and boundless deserts lie

* Medimnus.

" behind him? Is not Caucasus with all its immenſe
" train of mountains at hand, ſufficient to hide him, and
" numberleſs other kings who want to avoid a battle? It is
" but a few days journey from the country of the Cabiri*
" into Armenia, where Tigranes, king of kings, is ſeated,
" ſurrounded with that power, which has wreſted Aſia
" from the Parthians, which carries Grecian colonies into
" Media, ſubdues Syria and Paleſtine, cuts off the Seleu-
" cidæ, and carries their wives and daughters into cap-
" tivity. This prince is nearly allied to Mithridates;
" he is his ſoninlaw. Do you think he will diſregard
" him, when he comes as a ſuppliant, and not take up
" arms in his cauſe? Why will you then be in ſuch haſte
" to drive Mithridates out of his dominions, and riſk
" the bringing Tigranes upon us, who has long wanted
" a pretence for it? And ſurely he cannot find a more
" ſpecious one, than that of ſuccoring a fatherinlaw,
" and a king reduced to ſuch extreme neceſſity. What
" need is there then for us to ripen this affair, and to
" teach Mithridates what he may not know, who are
" the confederates he is to ſeek againſt us; or to drive
" him, againſt his inclination and his notions of honor,
" into the arms of Tigranes? Is it not better to give him
" time to make preparations and regain ſtrength in his
" own territories, that we may have to meet the Chol-
" chians, the Tibarenians and Cappadocians, whom we
" have often beaten, rather than the unknown forces of
" the Medes and the Armenians?"

Agreeably to theſe ſentiments Lucullus ſpent a great deal of time before Amiſus, proceeding very ſlowly in the ſiege. After the winter was paſt, he left that charge to Muræna, and marched againſt Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri, with a reſolution to wait for the Romans there. His army conſiſted of forty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, which he had lately collected; and in theſe he placed the greateſt confidence. Nay, he paſſed the river Lycus, and gave the

* Hence it appears, as well as from a paſſage in Strabo, that there was a diſtrict on the borders of Phrygia, called Cabiri. Indeed the worſhip of thoſe gods had prevailed in ſeveral parts of Aſia, and they are ſuppoſed to have had homage paid them at Rome under the title of *Dii Patri*.

Romans the challenge to meet him in the field. In conſequence of this, the cavalry engaged, and the Romans were put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of ſome dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indiſpoſed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who aſked him, "Whether, if he ſaved his life, he would become "his friend?" "On condition you will be reconciled to "the Romans," ſaid he, "I will! But if not, I muſt "remain your enemy." The king, ſtruck with admiration of his patriotiſm, did him no injury.

Lucullus was apprehenſive of farther danger on the plain, on account of the enemy's ſuperiority in horſe, and yet he was loth to take to the mountains, which were at a conſiderable diſtance, as well as woody and difficult of aſcent. While he was in this perplexity, ſome Greeks happened to be taken, who had hid themſelves in a cave. Artemidorus, the eldeſt of them, undertook to conduct him to a poſt where he might encamp in the utmoſt ſecurity, and where there ſtood a caſtle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit to his report, and began his march in the night, after he had cauſed a number of fires to be lighted in his old camp. Having got ſafely through the narrow paſſes, he gained the heights, and in the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, in a ſituation where he might fight with advantage, when he choſe it, and might not be compelled to it, if he had a mind to ſit ſtill.

At preſent neither Lucullus nor Mithridates was inclined to riſk a battle; but ſome of the king's ſoldiers happening to purſue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a ſharp ſkirmiſh, numbers continually coming up on each ſide. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans, beholding from the camp the flight of their fellow ſoldiers, were greatly diſturbed, and ran to Lucullus, to entreat him to lead them out, and give the ſignal for battle. But he, willing to ſhow them of how much importance in all dangerous conflicts the preſence of an able general is, ordered them to ſtand ſtill; and deſcending into the plain himſelf, ſeized the foremoſt of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed, and the reſt rallying with them, they eaſily put the enemy to flight, and purſued them to their intrench-

ments. Lucullus, at his return, inflicted on the fugitives the usual punishment. He made them strip to their vests, take off their girdles, and then dig a trench twelve feet long; the rest of the troops all the while standing and looking on.

In the army of Mithridates there was a Dardarian grandee, named Olthacus. The Dardarians are some of those barbarous people who live near the lake Mæotis. Olthacus was a man fit for every warlike attempt that required strength and courage, and in counsel and contrivance inferior to none. Beside these accomplishments, he was affable, easy, and agreeable in the commerce of the world. He was always involved in some dispute, or jealousy at least, of the other great men of his country, who, like him, aimed at the chief authority in it; and to bring Mithridates into his interest, he undertook the daring enterprize of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his design, and publicly gave him some affronts, to afford him a pretence for resentment. Olthacus laid hold on it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received him with pleasure. For his reputation was well known in the camp; and, upon trial, the Roman general found his presence of mind and his address so extraordinary, that he took him to his table and his council board.

When the Dardarian thought he had found his opportunity, he ordered his servants to have his horse ready without the camp. It was now mid day, and the soldiers were sitting in the sun or otherwise reposing themselves, when he went to the general's pavilion; expecting that none would pretend to hinder the admission of a man who was intimate with Lucullus, and who said he had business of importance to communicate. And he had certainly entered, if sleep, which has been the ruin of many other generals, had not saved Lucullus. Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, was then in waiting, and he told Olthacus, "This was not a proper time to see Lucullus, "because, after long watching and fatigue, he was now "taking some rest." Olthacus did not take this denial; but said, "I must enter, whether you will or not, for I "have great and necessary business to lay before him." Menedemus, incensed at his insolence, answered "Noth-"ing is more necessary than the preservation of Lu-"cullus," and thrust him back with both hands. Ol-

thacus, fearing his deſign was diſcovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horſe, and returned to Mithridates without effecting any thing. Thus the criſis, in other matters, as well as in medicine, either ſaves or deſtroys.

After this, Sornatius was ſent out with ten cohorts to eſcort a convoy. Mithridates detached againſt him one of his officers named Menander. An engagement enſued, and the barbarians were routed with great loſs. Another time Lucullus diſpatched Adrian with a conſiderable corps, to protect the party employed in collecting proviſions and ſupplying his camp. Mithridates did not let him paſs unnoticed, but ſent Menemachus and Myron againſt them, with a ſtrong body of cavalry and another of infantry. All theſe combatants, except two, the Romans put to the ſword. Mithridates diſſembled his loſs, pretending it was ſmall, and entirely owing to the miſconduct of the commanding officers. But when Adrian paſſed by his camp in great pomp, with many waggons loaded with proviſions and rich ſpoils in his train, the king's ſpirits began to droop, and the moſt diſtreſſing terror fell upon his army. They determined, therefore, to quit that poſt.

The nobility about the king began to ſend off their baggage with all the privacy they could, but would not ſuffer others to do the ſame. The ſoldiers finding themſelves joſtled and thruſt back in the gateways, were ſo much provoked at that treatment, that they turned upon them, fell to plundering the baggage, and killed ſeveral of them. Dorylaus, one of the generals, loſt his life for nothing but a purple robe which he had on. Hermæus, a prieſt, was trodden under foot at the gate. Mithridates himſelf, without any attendant or groom to aſſiſt him, got out of the camp amidſt the crowd. Of all his royal ſtud there was not one horſe left him; but at laſt Ptolemy the eunuch, ſeeing him carried along with the torrent, and happening to be on horſeback, diſmounted, and gave him his. The Romans preſſed hard upon him, and indeed came up time enough to have taken him. He was in fact almoſt in their hands; but their avarice ſaved him. The prey, which had been purſued through numberleſs conflicts and dangers, eſcaped, and the victorious Lucullus was robbed of the reward of his toils. The horſe which

the king rode, was almoſt overtaken, when a mule loaded with gold came between him and his purſuers, either by accident or by the king's contrivance. The ſoldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and came to blows about the contents; which gave Mithridates time to get off. Nor was this the only diſadvantage Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Calliſtratus, the king's ſecretary, was taken, and the Roman general had ordered him to be brought before him; but thoſe who had the charge of it, perceiving he had five hundred crowns in his girdle, diſpatched him for the money. Yet to ſuch men as theſe he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

After this, he took Cabira, and many other places of ſtrength, in which he found much treaſure. He likewiſe found in their priſons many Greeks, and ſeveral of the king's own relations, confined; and, as they had long thought themſelves in the moſt deſperate circumſtances, the liberty which they gained by the favor of Lucullus, appeared to them nōt ſo much a deliverance, as a reſurrection and new life. One of the king's ſiſters named Nyſſa, very happily for her, was of the number. The other ſiſters and wives of Mithridates, who ſeemed placed more remote from danger, and at a diſtance from war, all periſhed miſerably; he ſent the eunuch Bacchides to Phernacia, with orders to ſee them put to death.

Among the reſt were two of his ſiſters, Roxana and Statira, who were about the age of forty, and ſtill virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Berenice of Chios, and Monime of Miletus. The latter was much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to liſten to a lawleſs paſſion, and made her a preſent of fifteen thouſand crowns at one time, ſhe rejected all his ſolicitations till he agreed to marriage, ſent her a diadem and declared her queen. Before the laſt ſad meſſage, ſhe had paſſed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief and indignation on that beauty, which inſtead of a huſband had procured her an imperious maſter, and inſtead of the domeſtic comforts of marriage, a guard of barbarians. Baniſhed far from Greece, ſhe had loſt the real bleſſing of life, and where ſhe hoped for happineſs, found nothing but a dream.

When Bacchides came, and informed thoſe princeſſes they muſt die, but that they were at liberty to chooſe the

death moſt eaſy and agreeable to them, Monime ſnatching the diadem from her head, applied it to her neck, that it might do the fatal office. But it broke, and the princeſs ſaid, "O curſed band! wouldeſt thou not at leaſt, "ſerve me on this occaſion?" then ſpitting upon it, ſhe threw it from her, and ſtretched out her neck to Bacchides.

Berenice took poiſon; and, as her mother, who was preſent, begged a ſhare of it, ſhe granted her requeſt. They both drank of it; and its force operated ſufficiently upon the weaker body: But Berenice, not having taken a proper quantity, was long of dying. Bacchides therefore ſtrangled her. Roxana, one of the unmarried ſiſters, after having vented the moſt bitter impreeations and reproaches againſt Mithridates, took poiſon. Statira, however, died without one unkind or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he muſt have his anxieties about his own life, for not forgetting them, but providing that they might die free and undiſhonored. Theſe events were very diſagreeble to the native goodneſs and humanity of Lucullus.

He continued his purſuit of Mithridates as far as Talaura; where having learned that he was fled four days before into Armenia to Tigranes, he turned back again. He ſubdued, however, the Chaldæans and Tibarenians, and reduced the leſs Armenia, with the towns and caſtles. Then he ſent Appius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates; and in the mean time returned to Amiſus, which his troops were ſtill beſieging. The length of the ſiege was owing to Callimachus who commanded in the town, and was an able engineer, ſkilled in every art of attack and defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he ſuffered afterwards. Lucullus availed himſelf of a ſtratagem, againſt which he had not guarded. He made a ſudden aſſault at the time when Callimachus uſed to draw off his men for refreſhment. Thus he made himſelf maſter of ſome part of the wall; upon which, Callimachus, either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view to facilitate his own eſcape, ſet fire to the town, and quitted it. For no one paid any attention to thoſe who fled by ſea. The flames ſpread with great rapidity around the walls, and the ſoldiers prepared themſelves to pillage the houſes. Lucullus, in commiſ-

eration of a fine city thus ſinking into ruin, endeavored to aſſiſt it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguiſh the fire. But they paid no regard to him; they went on collecting the ſpoils, and clashing their arms, till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of ſaving the city from the flames. It happened, however, quite otherwiſe. In rummaging every corner, with torches in their hands, they ſet fire to many of the houſes themſelves. So that when Lucullus entered the town next morning, he ſaid to his friends, with tears in his eyes, "I have often admired the good fortune of Sylla but never ſo much as I do this day. He deſired to ſave "Athens, and ſucceeded. I wiſhed to imitate him on "this occaſion; but, inſtead of that, the gods have claſſed "me with Mummius.*"

Nevertheleſs, he endeavored to reſtore the place, as far as its unhappy circumſtances would permit. A ſhower, which providentially fell about the time it was taken, extinguiſhed the fire, and ſaved many of the buildings; and, during his ſtay, he rebuilt moſt of thoſe that were deſtroyed. Such of the inhabitants as had fled, he received with pleaſure, and added to them a draught of other Greeks, who were willing to ſettle there. At the ſame time, he gave them a territory of a hundred and twenty furlongs.

The city was a colony of Athenians, planted here at a time when their power was at the height; and they were maſters of the ſea. Hence it was, that thoſe who fled from the tyranny of Ariſtion, retired to Amiſus, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens; fortunately enough gaining abroad what they loſt at home. The remainder of them Lucullus now clothed in an honorable manner, gave each two hundred drachmas, and ſent them back into their own country. Tyrannio, the grammarian, was of the number. Muræna begged him of Lucullus, and afterwards enfranchiſed him; in which he acted ungenerouſly by his ſuperior officers preſent. Lucullus would not have been willing that a man ſo honored for his learning, ſhould be firſt conſidered as a ſlave, and then ſet free. The real liberty he was born to, muſt be taken away, before he could have this ſeeming freedom. But this was not the only inſtance in

* The deſtroyer of Corinth.

which Muræna acted with leſs generoſity than became an officer of his rank.

Lucullus then turned towards the cities of Aſia, that he might beſtow the time which was not employed in war, on the promotion of law and juſtice. Theſe had long loſt their influence in that province, which was overwhelmed with unſpeakable misfortunes. It was deſolated and enſlaved by the farmers of the revenue, and by uſurers. The poor inhabitants were forced to ſell the moſt beautiful of their ſons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the ſtatues of their gods. The laſt reſource was to ſerve their creditors as ſlaves. Their ſufferings prior to this, were more cruel and inſupportable; priſons, racks, tortures, expoſures to the burning ſun in ſummer, and in winter to the extremity of cold amidſt ice or mire; inſomuch that ſervitude ſeemed a happy deliverance, and a ſcene of peace. Lucullus, finding the cities in ſuch dreadful diſtreſs, ſoon reſcued the oppreſſed from all their burdens.

In the firſt place, he ordered the creditors not to take above one in the hundred for a month's intereſt;* in the next place, he aboliſhed all intereſt that exceeded the principal; the third and moſt important regulation, was, that the creditor ſhould not take above a fourth part of the debtor's income. And if any one took intereſt upon intereſt, he was to loſe all. By theſe means, in leſs than four years, all the debts were paid, and the eſtates reſtored free to the proprietors. The public fine which Sylla had laid upon Aſia, was twenty thouſand talents. It had been paid twice; and yet the mercileſs collectors, by uſury upon uſury, now brought it to a hundred and twenty thouſand talents.

Theſe men, pretending they had been unjuſtly treated, raiſed a clamor in Rome againſt Lucullus, and hired a number of popular orators to ſpeak againſt him. They had, indeed, a conſiderable intereſt, becauſe many perſons who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration, were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand was beloved not only by the nations which had experienced his good offices; the hearts of the other provinces were his, and

* This was the legal intereſt among the Romans. Whence we may learn the comparative ſcarcity of money in thoſe times.

they longed for a governor who had made ſuch numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who was ſent ambaſſador to Tygranes by Lucullus, and who was his wife's brother, at firſt fell into the hands of guides that were ſubjects to Mithridates. Theſe men made him take an unneceſſary circuit of many days journey in the upper countries; but at laſt an enfranchiſed ſervant of his, a Syrian by nation, diſcovered to him the impoſition, and ſhowed him the right road. He then bade adieu to his barbarian guides, and in a few days paſſed the Euphrates, and reached Antioch of Daphne.*

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes, who was then employed in reducing ſome cities of Phœnicia; and he found means to bring over to the Roman intereſt many princes who ſubmitted to the Armenian out of pure neceſſity. Among theſe was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities too, which Tigranes had conquered, privately ſent deputies to Clodius; and he promiſed them all the ſuccor Lucullus could give, but deſired they would make no immediate reſiſtance. The Armenian government was, indeed, an inſupportable burden to the Greeks. Particularly, the king's pride, through a long courſe of proſperity, was become ſo enormous, that he thought whatever is great and admirable in the eyes of the world, was not only in his power, but even made for him. For, though his proſpects at firſt were ſmall and contemptible, he had ſubdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power more than any prince before him. He had colonized Meſopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the *ſcenite*† Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them nearer to Armenia, that he might avail himſelf of their mercantile abilities. He had many kings at his court in the capacity of ſervants, and four in particular as mace bearers or footmen, who, whenever he rode on

* Among ſeveral cities of that name, this was the principal. It was called, however, by way of diſtinction, the Antioch of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, conſecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of a large extent, ſeveral of them probably of laurel; in the midſt of which ſtood the temple of Apollo and Diana. The grove and temple were a ſanctuary.

† Probably ſo called from their living in tents.

horſeback, ran before him in ſhort jerkins; and, when he ſat to give audience, ſtood by with their hands claſped together; which laſt circumſtance ſeems a mark of the loweſt ſlavery, a token that they had not only reſigned their liberty, but that they were prepared rather to ſuffer than to act.

Appius, not in the leaſt diſconcerted at all this pomp, plainly ſet forth his commiſſion, at his firſt audience, "That he was come to demand Mithridates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; otherwiſe he muſt declare war againſt Tigranes." Whatever efforts that prince made to receive the meſſage with an eaſy countenance and a kind of ſmile, it was viſible to all, that he was affected with the young man's bold addreſs. This was, indeed, the firſt free ſpeech he had heard for five and twenty years; for ſo long he had been a king, or rather a tyrant. However, the anſwer he gave Appius, was, "That he would not deliver up Mithridates; and if the "Romans began the war, he was able to defend himſelf." He was diſpleaſed with Lucullus for giving him, in his letter, barely the title of king, and not that of king of kings; and therefore, in his anſwer, he would not addreſs him as *Imperator*.* This did not hinder him from ſending magnificent preſents to Appius; and, when he found he did accept them, he ſent more. At laſt, Appius, that he might not ſeem to reject them out of any particular pique, took up a cup, and ſent back all the reſt. Then he returned with the utmoſt expedition to his general.

Before this, Tigranes had not deigned to admit Mithridates into his preſence, nor to ſpeak to a prince who was ſo nearly allied to him, and who had lately loſt ſo great a kingdom. He had ſent him in a contemptuous manner to remote marſhes and a ſickly air, where he was kept like a priſoner. But now he called him to court with great marks of honor and regard. In a private conference, they exculpated themſelves at the expenſe of their friends. Metrodorus, the Scepſian, was of the number; an able ſpeaker, and a man of extenſive erudition, who had been in ſuch high favor, that he was ſtiled the

* The Engliſh word *general* is not entirely equivalent to the Greek αυτοκρατωρ, or the Latin *imperator*, which was afterwards the title of the emperors.

king's father. It ſeems, when he went ambaſſador from Mithridates to the Armenian court, to beg aſſiſtance againſt the Romans, Tigranes ſaid, "What would you, "Metrodorus adviſe me to in this caſe?" Whether it was, that he had the intereſt of Tigranes in view, or whether he wanted to ſee Mithridates abſolutely ruined, he anſwered, "As an ambaſſador, I ſhould exhort you to "it; but, as your counſellor, I ſhould adviſe you againſt "it." Tigranes diſcovered this to Mithridates, not imagining he would reſent it in the manner he did. The unfortunate prince immediately put Metrodorus to death; and Tigranes greatly repented the ſtep he had taken, though he was not abſolutely the cauſe of that miniſter's death, but only added ſtings to the hatred Mithridates had long entertained for him. This appeared when his private memorandums were taken, in which Metrodorus was found among thoſe marked out for the axe. Tigranes buried him honorably, and ſpared no expenſe in his funeral, though he had been the cauſe of his death.

Amphicrates, the orator, likewiſe died at that court, if we may be allowed to record his name for the ſake of Athens. He is ſaid to have been baniſhed his country, and to have retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants deſired him to open a ſchool of rhetoric, but he anſwered, in the moſt contemptuous manner, and with all the vanity of a ſophiſt, "That a plate could not con-"tain a dolphin." From thence he went to the court of Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, where he ſoon made himſelf ſo obnoxious, that he was forbidden all intercourſe with the Greeks; upon which he ſtarved himſelf to death. Cleopatra beſtowed upon *him* too a magnificent funeral, and his tomb is near a place called Sapha.

Lucullus, having eſtabliſhed peace and good laws in Aſia, did not neglect what might be conducive to elegance and pleaſure; but, during his ſtay at Epheſus, entertained the Grecian cities with ſhows, triumphal feaſts, and trials of ſkill between wreſtlers and gladiators. The cities, in return, inſtituted a feaſt to his honor, which they called *Lucullia*; and the real affection that inſpired them with the thought, was more agreeable than the honor itſelf.

When Appius was returned, and had acquainted him that it was neceſſary to go to war with Tigranes, he went back to Pontus, and put himſelf at the head of his troops. His firſt operation was to lay ſiege to Sinope, or rather to a corps of Cilicians who had thrown themſelves into the town on the part of Mithridates. Theſe, upon the approach of Lucullus, put a great number of the inhabitants to the ſword, and after ſetting fire to the place, endeavored to eſcape in the night. But Lucullus diſcovering their intentions, entered the town, and having killed eight thouſand of them who were left behind, reſtored their effects to the old inhabitants, and exerted himſelf greatly in ſaving the city from the flames. His particular inducement was the following dream: He dreamed that a perſon ſtood by him, and ſaid, "Go forward, Lucullus; for "Autolycus is coming to meet you." When he awaked, he could form no conjecture about the ſignification of the dream. However, he took the city the ſame day, and, in purſuing the Cilicians to their ſhips, he ſaw a ſtatue lying on the ſhore, which they had not been able to get on board. The work was one of the maſterpieces of Sthenis; and he was told that it was the ſtatue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope. This Autolycus is ſaid to have been the ſon of Deimachus, and one of thoſe Theſſalians who aſſiſted Hercules in the war againſt the Amazons.* In his voyage back, along with Demoleon and Phlogius, his ſhip ſtruck on a rock of the Cherſoneſus, called Pedalion, and he loſt it. He and his friends, however, ſaved their lives and their arms, and went to Sinope, which they took from the Syrians. The Syrians who then held it, we are told, were ſo called, becauſe they were the deſcendants of Syrus the ſon of Apollo and Sinope the daughter of Aſopus. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected the obſervation of Sylla in his Commentaries, "That noth-"ing more deſerves our belief and attention, than what "is ſignified to us in dreams."

After news was brought that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with all their forces, in order to ſieze Aſia before him, he could

* Strabo tells us, Autolycus was one of the Argonauts, who, after his voyage to Colchis, ſettled at Sinope, and had divine honors paid him after his death. *Strab.* l. xii.

not help thinking it ſtrange, that the Armenian did not make uſe of Mithridates when in his glory, nor join the armies of Pontus while they were in their full ſtrength; but ſuffered them to be broken and deſtroyed; and now at laſt with cold hopes of ſucceſs began the war, or rather threw himſelf down headlong with thoſe who could ſtand no longer.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, Machares the ſon of Mithridates, who was maſter of the Boſphorus, ſent Lucullus a coronet of gold of a thouſand crowns value, and begged to be numbered among the friends and allies of Rome. Lucullus, now concluding, that the firſt war was finiſhed, left Sornatius, with a corps of ſix thouſand men, to ſettle the affairs of that province; and with twelve thouſand foot and leſs than three thouſand horſe, marched to meet another war. It ſeemed amaſing temerity to go with a handful of men againſt ſo many warlike nations, ſo many myriads of cavalry, and ſuch a vaſt country, interſected with deep rivers, and barricaded with mountains for ever covered with ſnow. Of courſe his ſoldiers, who were not otherwiſe under the beſt diſcipline, now followed with great reluctance, and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, the popular orators clamored againſt him in Rome, repreſenting that he levied war after war; not that the public utility required it, but that he might always keep the command and continue in arms, and that he might accumulate riches at the riſk of the commonwealth. Theſe at laſt ſucceeded in their deſign, which was to recal Lucullus.

At preſent he reached the Euphrates by long marches. He found it ſwoln and overflowing by reaſon of the late rains, and was apprehenſive he ſhould find much delay and difficulty in collecting boats and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began to ſubſide, and leſſen in ſuch a manner in the night, that next morning the river appeared much within the channel. The people of the country ſeeing little iſlands in its bed, which had ſeldom been viſible, and the ſtream breaking gently about them, conſidered Lucullus as ſomething more than mortal. For they ſaw the great river put on a mild and obliging air to him, and afford him a quick and eaſy paſſage.

He availed himſelf of the opportunity, and paſſed it with his army. An auſpicious omen appeared immedi-

ately after. A number of heifers, ſacred to the Perſian Diana, the goddeſs whom the inhabitants of thoſe parts particularly worſhip, paſtured on the other ſide. Theſe heifers are uſed only in the way of ſacrifice; at other times they range at large, marked with the figure of a torch, as a token of their deſignation; and it was difficult to take them when they were wanted. But now the army had no ſooner croſſed the river, than one of them went and ſtood by a rock which is deemed ſacred to the goddeſs, and hanging down her head in the manner of thoſe that are bound, offered herſelf to Lucullus as a victim. He ſacrificed alſo a bull to the Euphrates, on account of his ſafe paſſage.

He ſtayed there that whole day to refreſh his army. The next day he marched through Sophene, without doing the leaſt injury to thoſe who ſubmitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wanted to ſtop and take a fort that was ſuppoſed to be full of treaſure, he pointed to Mount Taurus, which appeared at a diſtance, and ſaid, "Yonder is the fort you "are to take; as for theſe things, they will of courſe be- "long to the conqueror." Then, puſhing his march, he croſſed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

As Tigranes ordered the firſt man who brought him an account of the enemy's arrival, to loſe his head for his reward, no one afterwards preſumed to mention it. He remained in ignorance, though the hoſtile fire already touched him; and with pleaſure heard his flatterers ſay, "Lucullus would be a great general, if he waited for Ti- "granes at Epheſus, and did not quit Aſia at the ſight "of his vaſt armies." Thus it is not every man that can bear much wine, nor can an ordinary mind bear great proſperity without ſtaggering. The firſt of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes; and he was but ill rewarded for the liberty he had taken. He was ſent againſt Lucullus with three thouſand horſe and a more reſpectable body of foot, with orders to take the Roman general alive, but to tread the reſt under his feet.

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the reſt were upon the march, when their ſcouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were at hand. He had, therefore, his apprehenſions, that if they attacked him

before his troops were all assembled and formed, they might be put in disorder. The measure he took was to stay and intrench himself; mean time he sent his lieutenant Sextilius with sixteen hundred horse, and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy-armed, with orders, when he approached the enemy, to stop and amuse them, till he should be informed that the intrenchments were finished.

Sextilius was willing to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him so boldly, that he was forced to fight. Mithrobarzanes behaved with great bravery, but fell in the action. Then his troops took to flight, and were most of them cut in pieces.

After this, Tigranes left Tigranocerta, the great city which he had built, and retired to Mount Taurus, where he intended to collect all his forces. But Lucullus, not giving him much time for preparation, sent Muræna to harass and cut off the parties on one side, as fast as they came up; on the other side, Sextilius advanced against a large corps of Arabians, which was going to join the king. Sextilius came upon the Arabians as they were encamping, and killed the greatest part of them. Muræna following the steps of Tigranes, took his opportunity to attack him, as he was leading a great army along a rugged and narrow defile. The king himself fled, abandoning all his baggage. Many of the Armenians were put to the sword, and greater numbers made prisoners.

Lucullus, after this success, marched against Tigranocerta, and invested it with his army. There were in that city many Greeks who had been transplanted out of Cilicia, and many barbarians whose fortunes had been no better than that of the Greeks, Adiabenians, Assyrians, Gordyenians, and Cappadocians, whose cities Tigranes had demolished, and then removed the inhabitants, and compelled them to settle in that he had built. The place was full of treasure and rich ornaments; every private person, as well as grandee, to make their court to the king, striving which should contribute most to its embellishment. For this reason Lucullus carried on the siege with great vigor, in the opinion that Tigranes would, contrary to his better judgment, be provoked to give him battle. And he was not mistaken. Mithridates, by messengers and letters, dissuaded the king much from

hazarding a battle, and adviſed him only to cut off the Roman convoys with his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part of Mithridates to cooperate with Tigranes, entreated him to avoid meeting the Roman arms, which he aſſured him were invincible.

At firſt the king heard him with patience. But when the Armenians and Gordyenians arrived with all their forces; when the kings of the Medes and Adiabenians had brought in their armies; when numbers of Arabians came from the coaſts of the Babylonian ſea,* Albanians from the Caſpian, and Iberians from the neighborhood of the Albanians; beſide a conſiderable body gained by preſents and perſuaſion, from thoſe nations about the Araxes that live without regal government; then nothing was expreſſed at the king's table or council board, but ſanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for attempting to oppoſe the reſolution to give battle, and Mithridates himſelf was accuſed of envying the glorious ſucceſs that would attend his ſon-inlaw.

Tigranes, therefore, would not wait for him, leſt he ſhould ſhare with him the honor of the victory; but advanced immediately with all his forces; and is ſaid to have expreſſed to his friends ſome uneaſineſs, "That he "ſhould have to do only with Lucullus, and not try his "ſtrength at once with all the generals of Rome." Indeed, theſe boaſts of the king do not appear entirely frantic and deſtitute of reaſon, while he was ſurveying ſo many nations and princes under his ſtandard, ſuch aſtoniſhing numbers of heavy armed infantry, and ſo many myriads of cavalry. He had twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers, and fiftyfive thouſand horſe, of which ſeventeen thouſand were clad in ſteel, according to the account Lucullus ſent the ſenate. His infantry, divided into companies and battalions, conſiſted of a hundred and fifty thouſand men; and there were thirtyfive thouſand pioneers and other laborers, to make good the roads, to prepare bridges, to cleanſe the courſe of rivers, to provide wood, and to anſwer all the occaſions of the army. Theſe were drawn up behind, to give it a greater appearance of ſtrength and numbers.

When he had paſſed Mount Taurus, and ſpread his troops upon the plain, he could ſee the Roman army be-

* The Perſian gulf.

ſieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewiſe ſaw him, and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls.

Lucullus, before the battle, held a counſel of war. Some adviſed him to quit the ſiege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces; others were of opinion, that he ſhould continue the ſiege, and not leave ſo many enemies behind him. He told them that neither, ſeparately, gave good counſel, but both together did. He therefore divided his forces, and left Muræna before the place with ſix thouſand men; while he with the reſt of the infantry conſiſting of twentyfour cohorts, which contained not more than ten thouſand combatants, with all his cavalry, and about a thouſand ſlingers and archers, marched againſt Tigranes.

He encamped on a large plain with a river before him; where his army appearing no more than a handful, afforded much matter of mirth to the flatterers of the king. Some ridiculed the diminutive appearance; others, by way of jeſt caſt lots for the ſpoil. And there was not one of the generals and princes, who did not come and deſire to be employed alone upon that ſervice, while Tigranes needed only to ſit ſtill and look on. The king too, thinking he muſt ſhow himſelf facetious on the occaſion, made uſe of that celebrated expreſſion, "That if they came as "ambaſſadors there were too many of them; if as ſol-"diers, too few." Thus they paſſed the firſt day in raillery.

Next morning at break of day, Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the eaſt ſide of the river. But the river, where it is moſt fordable, makes a bend to the weſt. As Lucullus marched haſtily down to that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this, he called to Taxiles, and ſaid with a ſcornful ſmile, "Seeſt thou not theſe invincible Roman legions "taking to flight?" Taxiles anſwered, "I wiſh from my "ſoul, my lord, that your good genius may work a mira-"cle in your favor; but theſe legions do not uſe their "beſt accoutrements in a mere march. They do not "wear their poliſhed ſhields, nor take their bright helmets "out of their caſes, as you ſee they have now done. All "this ſplended appearance indicates their intention to

"fight, and to advance againſt their enemies as faſt as "poſſible."

While Taxiles was yet ſpeaking, they ſaw the eagle of the foremoſt legion make a motion to the right by order of Lucullus, and the cohorts proceed in good order to paſs the river.

Then Tigranes with much difficulty awaked from his intoxication, and exclaimed two or three times, "Are "theſe men coming againſt us?" After this, he drew out his forces in a haſty and diſorderly manner; taking himſelf the command of the main body, and giving the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. Before this right wing were placed moſt of the cavalry that were armed in ſteel.

As Lucullus was going to paſs the river, ſome of his officers admoniſhed him to beware of that day, which had been an inauſpicious, or (as they called it) a black one to the Romans. For on that day Cæpio's army was defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned that memorable anſwer, "I will make this day too an auſpicious one for "Rome." It was the ſixth of October.

Having thus ſpoken, and withal exhorted his men to exert themſelves, he advanced at the head of them againſt the enemy. He was armed with a breaſtplate of ſteel formed in ſcales, which caſt a ſurpriſing luſtre; and the robe he wore over it was adorned with fringe. He drew his ſword immediately, to ſhow his troops the neceſſity of coming hand to hand with an enemy who were accuſtomed to fight at a diſtance; and by the vigor of their charge not to leave them room to exerciſe their miſſive weapons. Obſerving that the enemy's heavy armed cavalry, upon which they had their chief dependence, was covered by a hill that was plain and even at the top, and which, with an extent of only four furlongs, was not very difficult to aſcend, he diſpatched his Thracian and Gauliſh horſe, with orders to take them in flank, and to ſtrike at nothing but the ſhafts of their pikes. Their whole ſtrength, indeed, conſiſts in the pike, and they have no other weapon, either offenſive or defenſive, that they can uſe, by reaſon of their heavy and unwieldy armor, in which they are, as it were, immured.

Meanwhile he began to climb the hill with two companies of infantry, and the ſoldiers followed him with great readineſs, when they ſaw him encumbered as he was with his armor, the firſt to labor on foot up the aſcent. When he had reached the ſummit, he ſtood on the moſt conſpicuous part of it, and cried out: "The victory is "ours, my fellow ſoldiers, the victory is ours!" At the ſame time he advanced againſt the heavy armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make any uſe of their javelins, but to come to cloſe action, and to aim their blows at their enemies legs and thighs, in which parts alone they were not armed. There was no need, however, to put this in execution. For, inſtead of ſtanding to receive the Romans they ſet up a cry of fear, and moſt deſ[illegible]ly fled without ſtriking a ſtroke. In their flight, they and their horſes, heavy with armor, ran back upon their own infantry, and put them in confuſion; inſomuch that all thoſe myriads were routed, without ſtanding to receive one wound, or ſpilling one drop of blood. Multitudes, however, were ſlain in their flight, or rather in their attempt to fly; their ranks being ſo thick and deep, that they entangled and impeded each other.

Tigranes rode off, one of the firſt, with a few attendants; and ſeeing his ſon taking his ſhare in his misfortune, he took the diadem from his head, gave it him with tears, and defired him to ſave himſelf in the beſt manner he could, by taking ſome other road. The young prince did not venture to wear it, but put it in the hands of one of his moſt faithful ſervants, who happened afterwards to be taken and brought to Lucullus: By this means the royal diadem of Tigranes added to the honors of the ſpoil. It is ſaid that of the foot there fell above a hundered thouſand, and of the horſe very few eſcaped; whereas the Romans had but five killed, and a hundred wounded. Antiochus the philoſopher,* in his Treatiſe concerning the Gods, ſpeaking of this action, ſays, the ſun never beheld ſuch another. Strabo,† another philoſopher, in his Hiſtorical Commentaries imforms us, that the Romans were aſhamed, and ridiculed each other, for

* Antiochus of Eſcalon. Cicero was his diſciple.

† Strabo, the geographer and hiſtorian, was alſo a philoſopher of the ſtoic form.

having employed weapons againſt ſuch vile ſlaves. And Livy tells us, the Romans, with ſuch inferior numbers, never engaged ſuch a multitude as this. The victors did not, indeed make up the twentieth part of the vanquiſhed. The moſt able and experienced commanders among the Romans paid the higheſt compliments to the generalſhip of Lucullus, principally becauſe he had defeated two of the greateſt and moſt powerful kings in the world by methods entirely different; the one by an expeditious, and the other by a ſlow proceſs. He ruined Mithridates, when in the height of his power, by protracting the war, and Tigranes by the celerity of his movements. Indeed, among all the generals in the world, there have been very few inſtances of any one's availing himſelf of delay for execution, or of expedition for ſecurity.

Hence it was, that Mithridates made no haſte to come to action, or to join Tigranes; imagining that Lucullus would proceed with his uſual caution and ſlowneſs. But as ſoon as he met a few Armenians on the road, with the greateſt marks of conſternation upon them, he formed ſome conjecture of what had happened; and when many more came up naked and wounded, he was too well aſſured of the loſs, and inquired for Tigranes. Though he found him in the moſt deſtitute and deplorable condition, he did not offer him the leaſt inſult. Inſtead of that, he diſmounted, and bewailed with him their common misfortunes; gave him his own royal equipage, and held up to him a proſpect of better ſucceſs. They began to levy other forces.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks had mutinied againſt the barbarians, and wanted to deliver up the city to Lucullus. Accordingly he gave the aſſault, and took it. After he had ſecured the royal treaſures, he gave up the plunder of the town to his ſoldiers, and they found there, beſides other rich booty, eight thouſand talents in coined money. Lucullus added eight hundred drachmas to each man's ſhare.

Being informed that there were found in the town a number of ſuch artiſts as are requiſite in theatrical exhibitions, whom Tigranes had collected from all parts, for opening the theatre he had built, he made uſe of them

in the games and other public diverſions, in honor of his victory.

He ſent back the Greeks to their own countries, and furniſhed them with neceſſaries for that purpoſe. He likewiſe permitted the barbarians, who had been compelled to ſettle there to return to their reſpective abodes. Thus it happened, that by the diſperſion of the people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants. For which reaſon Lucullus was reverenced by them as a patron and founder. He ſucceeded alſo in his other undertakings, agreeably to his merit; being more deſirous of the praiſe of juſtice and humanity, than of that which ariſes from military achievements. For in thoſe the army claims no ſmall part, and fortune a greater; whereas the other are proofs of a gentle diſpoſition, and ſubdued mind, and by them Lucullus brought the barbarians to ſubmit without the ſword. The kings of the Arabs came over to him, and put their poſſeſſions in his power; the whole nation of Sophene followed their example; and the Gordyenians were ſo well inclined to ſerve him, that they were willing to quit their habitations, and follow him with their wives and children. The cauſe was this:

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable as has been ſaid, to ſupport the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius to Lucullus, and deſired to be admitted as an ally. This application being diſcovered, he was put to death, with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus, however, did not forget it, but as he paſſed through Gordyene, took care that Zarbienus ſhould have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile with gold ſtuffs and royal veſtments found among the ſpoils of Tigranes. The Roman general himſelf ſet fire to it, and together with the friends and relations of the deceaſed, offered the accuſtomed libations, declaring him his friend, and an ally of the Roman people. He cauſed a monument too, to be erected to his memory at a conſiderable expenſe; for there was found in the treaſury of that prince a great quantity of gold and ſilver; there were found alſo in his ſtore houſes three millions of medimni of wheat. This was a ſufficient proviſion for the ſoldiers; and Lucullus was much admired for making the war maintain itſelf, and carrying it

on without taking one drachma out of the public treasury.

About this time, there came an embaſſy from the king of Parthia to ſolicit his friendſhip and alliance. Lucullus received the propoſal with pleaſure, and ſent ambaſſadors in his turn; who, when they were at the prince's court, diſcovered that he was unreſolved what part to act, and that he was privately treating with Tigranes for Meſopotamia, as a reward for the ſuccors with which he ſhould furniſh him. As ſoon as Lucullus was ſenſible of this, he determined to let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, as adverſaries already tired out, and to try his ſtrength with the Parthian, by entering his territories. He thought it would be glorious, if in one expedition, during the tide of good fortune, like an able wreſtler he would throw three princes ſucceſſively, and traverſe the dominions of three of the moſt powerful kings under the ſun, perpetually victorious.

For this reaſon he ſent orders to Sornatius and his other officers in Pontus to bring their forces to him, as he intended to begin his march for Parthia from Gordyene. Theſe officers had already found their ſoldiers refractory and obſtinate, but now they ſaw them abſolutely mutinous, and not to be wrought upon by any method of perſuaſion or of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would not even ſtay there, but would go and leave Pontus itſelf unguarded. When an account of this behavior was brought to Lucullus, it corrupted the troops he had with him; and they were very ready to receive theſe impreſſions, loaded as they were with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repoſe. Upon hearing, therefore, of the bold terms in which the others had expreſſed themſelves, they ſaid they acted like men, and ſet an example worthy of imitation: "And ſurely," continued they, "our ſervices entitle us to a diſcharge, that we "may return to our own country, and enjoy ourſelves in "ſecurity and quiet."

Theſe ſpeeches, and worſe than theſe, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more againſt Tigranes. It was now the height of ſummer, and yet when he had gained the ſummit of Mount Taurus, he ſaw with regret the corn only green; ſo backward are the ſeaſons in thoſe

parts, by reaſon of the cold that prevails there.* He deſcended, however, into the plain, and beat the Armenians who ventured to face him in two or three ſkirmiſhes. Then he plundered the villages at pleaſure, and, by taking the convoys deſigned for Tigranes, brought that want upon the enemy, which he had dreaded himſelf.

He omitted no meaſure which might bring them to a deciſive battle; he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp; he laid waſte their country before their eyes; but they had been too often defeated, to think of riſking an engagement. He therefore marched againſt Artaxata the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children, concluding he would not ſuffer it to be taken, without attempting its relief.

It is ſaid that Hannibal the Carthagenian, after Antiochus was ſubdued by the Romans, addreſſed himſelf to Artaxas king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, beſide inſtructing him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay neglected, afforded the happieſt ſituation imaginable for a city. He gave him the plan of one, and exhorted him to put it in execution. The king, charmed with the motion, deſired him to take the direction of the work; and in a ſhort time there was ſeen a large and beautiful city, which bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay ſiege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in queſt of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped over againſt them, being ſeparated from them only by the river Arſanias, which they muſt neceſſarily paſs in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having ſacrificed to the gods, in full perſuaſion that the victory was his own, paſſed over in order of battle, with twelve cohorts in front. The reſt were placed in the rear, to prevent their being ſurrounded by the enemy. For their motions were watched by a large and ſelect body of cavalry, covered by ſome flying ſquadrons of Mardian archers and Iberian ſpearmen, in whoſe courage and ſkill, Tigranes, of all his foreign troops, placed the higheſt confidence. Their behavior, however,

* This particular is confirmed by modern travellers. They tell us, the ſnow lies there till Auguſt.

did not diſtinguiſh them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman horſe, but did not wait the charge of the infantry. They diſperſed and fled, and the Roman cavalry purſued them in the different routes they had taken.

Tigranes now ſeeing his advantage, advanced with his own cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated at their numbers and the ſplendor of their appearance. He therefore called his cavalry off from the purſuit; and in the mean time was the foremoſt to advance againſt the nobility,* who, with the flower of the army, were about the king's perſon. But they fled at the ſight of him, without ſtriking a blow. Of the three kings that were then in the action, the flight of Mithridates ſeems to have been the moſt diſgraceful, for he did not ſtand the very ſhouts of the Romans. The purſuit continued the whole night, until wearied with the carnage, and ſatisfied with the priſoners, and the booty they made, the Romans drew off. Livy tells us, that in the former battle there were greater numbers killed and taken priſoners; but in this, perſons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his ſucceſs, reſolved to penetrate the upper country, and to finiſh the deſtruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with ſtorms he did not expect. The ſnow fell almoſt conſtantly; and when the ſky was clear, the froſt was ſo intenſe, that by reaſon of the extreme cold the horſes could hardly drink of the rivers; nor could they paſs them but with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe the ice broke, and cut the ſinews of their legs. Beſides, the greateſt part of their march was through cloſe and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet with the ſnow that lodged upon the trees; and they had only damp places wherein to paſs the night.

They had not, therefore, followed Lucullus many days, before they began to be refractory. At firſt they had recourſe to entreaties, and ſent their tribunes to intercede

* In the original it is Σατελλιτων; by which, in all probability, is meant the king's body guard, conſiſting chiefly of the nobility. According to Livy, no leſs than ſixty of Tigranes's friends and great officers walked in the proceſſion of Lucullus's triumph. Nor is it to be wondered, that he had a guard of his own nobility, when he had conquered princes for his menial ſervants.

for them. Afterwards they met in a more tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; and this, perhaps, is the ſureſt token of a mutiny. Lucullus tried what every milder meaſure could do: He exhorted them only to compoſe themſelves a little longer, until they had deſtroyed the Armenian Carthage, built by Hannibal the greateſt enemy to the Roman name. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back, and paſſed the ridge of Mount Taurus another way. He came down into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where ſtands a great and populous city, which the barbarians called Niſibis, and the Greeks Antioch of Mygdonia.* Gouras, brother to Tigranes, had the title of governor on account of his dignity; but the commander in fact was Callimachus, who, by his great abilities as an engineer, had given Lucullus ſo much trouble at Amiſus.

Lucullus, having inveſted the place, availed himſelf of all the arts that are uſed in a ſiege, and preſſed the place with ſo much vigor that he carried it ſword in hand. Gouras ſurrendered himſelf, and he treated him with great humanity. He would not, however, liſten to Callimachus, though he offered to diſcover to him a vaſt quantity of hidden treaſure; but put him in fetters, in order that he might ſuffer capital puniſhment for ſetting fire to the city of Amiſus, and by that means depriving him of the honor of ſhowing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto one might ſay, fortune had followed Lucullus, and fought for him. But from this time the gales of her favor fell; he could do nothing but with infinite difficulty, and ſtruck upon every rock in his way. He behaved, indeed, with all the valor and perſevering ſpirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favorable acceptance with the world. Nay, toſſed as he was on the waves of fruitleſs contention, he was in danger of loſing the glory he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes he might blame himſelf, becauſe, in the firſt place, he would never ſtudy to oblige the common ſoldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations, as

* It was called Antioch, becauſe in its delicious walks and pleaſing ſituation it reſembled the Antioch of Daphne.

the ſource of his diſgrace and the deſtruction of his authority. What was of ſtill greater conſequence, he could not behave in an eaſy affable manner to thoſe who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtineſs, and conſidered himſelf as greatly their ſuperior. Theſe blemiſhes Lucullus had amidſt many perfections. He was tall, well made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the adminiſtration as well as for the field.

Salluſt tells us, the ſoldiers were ill affected to him from the beginning of the war, becauſe he had made them keep the field two winters ſucceſſively, the one before Cyzicum, and the other before Amiſus. The reſt of the winters were very diſagreeable to them; they either paſſed them in hoſtilities againſt ſome enemy; or, if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents. For Lucullus never once ſuffered his troops to enter any Grecian city, or any other in alliance with Rome.

While the ſoldiers were of themſelves thus ill diſpoſed, they were made ſtill more mutinous by the demagogues at home; who, through envy to Lucullus, accuſed him of protracting the war from a love of command and of the riches it procured him. He had almoſt the entire direction (they ſaid) of Cilicia, Aſia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galacia, Pontus, Armenia, and all the provinces as far as the Phaſis; and now he was pillaging the royal palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been ſent to ſtrip, not to ſubdue kings. So Lucius Quintus, one of the tribunes, is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf; the ſame who was principally concerned in procuring a decree, that Lucullus ſhould have a ſucceſſor ſent him, and that moſt of his troops ſhould have their diſcharge.

To theſe misfortunes was added another, which abſolutely ruined the affairs of Lucullus. Publius Clodius, a man of the utmoſt inſolence and effrontery, was brother to his wife, who was ſo abandoned a woman, that it was believed ſhe had a criminal commerce with him. He now bore arms under Lucullus, and imagined he had not the poſt he deſerved; for he wanted the firſt; and on account of his diſorderly life, many were put before him. Finding this, he practiſed with the Fimbrian troops and endeav-

ored to ſet them againſt Lucullus, by flattering ſpeeches and inſinuations, to which they were neither unaccuſtomed, nor unwilling to attend. For theſe were the men whom Fimbria had formerly perſuaded to kill the conſul Flaccus, and to appoint him their general. Still retaining ſuch inclinations, they received Clodius with pleaſure, and called him the ſoldier's friend. He did, indeed, pretend to be concerned at their ſufferings, and uſed to ſay—"Shall there no period be put to their wars and toils? "Shall they go on fighting one nation after another, and "wear out their lives in wandering over the world? "And what is the reward of ſo many laborious expedi- "tions? What, but to guard the waggons and camels of "Lucullus, loaded with cups of gold and precious ſtones? "Whereas Pompey's ſoldiers, already diſcharged, ſit "down with their wives and children upon fertile eſtates, "and in agreeable towns; not for having driven Mith- "ridates and Tigranes into inacceſſible deſerts, and def- "troying the royal cities in Aſia, but for fighting with "fugitives in Spain and ſlaves in Italy. If we muſt for- "ever have our ſwords in our hands, let us reſerve all "our hearts, and what remains of our limbs, for a gen- "eral who thinks the wealth of his men his greateſt or- "nament."

Theſe complaints againſt Lucullus corrupted his ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that they would neither follow him againſt Tigranes, nor yet againſt Mithridates, who from Armenia had thrown himſelf into Pontus, and was beginning to recover his authority there. They pretended it was impracticable to march in the winter, and therefore loitered in Gordyene, expecting Pompey or ſome other general would come as ſucceſſor to Lucullus. But when intelligence was brought that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and was marching againſt Sornatius and Triarius, they were aſhamed of their inaction, and told Lucullus he might lead them wherever he pleaſed.

Triarius being informed of the approach of Lucullus, was ambitious, before he arrived, to ſeize the victory which he thought perfectly ſecure; in conſequence of which he hazarded and loſt a great battle. It is ſaid that above ſeven thouſand Romans were killed, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty four

tribunes. Mithridates likewiſe took their camp. Lucullus arrived a few days after, fortunately enough for Triarius, whom he concealed from the ſoldiers, who wanted to wreak their vengeance upon him.

As Mithridates avoided an action with Lucullus, and choſe to wait for Tigranes, who was coming with a great army, Lucullus, in order to prevent their junction, determined to go in queſt of Tigranes once more. But as he was upon his march, the Fimbrians mutinied and deſerted his ſtandard, alleging that they were diſcharged by an expreſs decree, and no longer obliged to ſerve under Lucullus, when thoſe provinces were conſigned to another. Lucullus, on this occaſion, ſubmitted to many things beneath his dignity. He applied to the private men one by one, going round to their tents with a ſupplicating aſpect and with tears in his eyes; nay, he condeſcended to take ſome of them by the hand. But they rejected all his advances, and throwing down their empty purſes before him, bade him go and fight the enemy himſelf, ſince he was the only perſon that knew how to make his advantage of it.

However, as the other ſoldiers interpoſed, the Fimbrians were prevailed upon to ſtay all the ſummer, on condition that if no enemy faced them in the field, during that time, they ſhould be at liberty to retire. Lucullus was obliged either to accept this propoſal or to abandon the country, or to leave it an eaſy prey to the barbarians. He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending to exerciſe any act of power upon them, or to lead them out to battle; thinking it all he could expect, if they would but remain upon the ſpot. At the ſame time he looked on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates was growing ſtrong and inſolent again; though he had acquainted the ſenate by letter, that he was abſolutely conquered, and deputies were come to ſettle the affairs of Pontus, as a province entirely reduced. Theſe deputies, on their arrival, found that he was not even maſter of himſelf, but expoſed to every inſtance of inſult and contempt from his own ſoldiers. Nay, they treated their general with ſuch wanton mockery, as, when the ſummer was paſt, to arm, and challenge the enemy, who were now retiring into quarters. They ſhouted as in the charge, made paſſes in the air, and then left the

camp calling Lucullus to witneſs that they had ſtayed the time they promiſed him.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For, through his intereſt with the people, and the flattering inſinuations of the orators, he was already appointed general againſt Mithridates and Tigranes. To the ſenate, indeed, and all the beſt of the Romans, Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment, ſince a perſon was ſent to ſucceed him, not ſo much in the war as in his triumph; and he was robbed rather of the prize of honor than of the command. Thoſe that were upon the ſpot found the matter ſtill more invidious. Lucullus had no longer the power either of rewarding or puniſhing. Pompey ſuffered no man to wait upon him about any buſineſs whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations he had made in concurrence with the ten commiſſioners. He forbade it by expreſs and public orders; and his influence was great, on account of his coming with a more reſpectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper that they ſhould come to an interview; and accordingly they did ſo in a village of Gallatia. They addreſſed each other with much politeneſs, and with mutual compliments on their great ſucceſs. Lucullus was the older man, but Pompey had ſuperior dignity, for he had commanded in more wars, and had been honored with two triumphs. Each had the *faſces* carried before him, and adorned with laurel on account of their reſpective victories; but as Pompey had travelled a long way through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his *faſces* were withered. The lictors that preceded Lucullus obſerving this, freely gave them a ſufficient quantity of their freſh and green ones; which Pompey's friends conſidered as an auſpicious circumſtance. And, in fact, the great actions of Lucullus did caſt a luſtre over this expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, had no good effect: They parted with greater rancor in their hearts than they entertained at their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus; and taking the reſt of his troops from him, left him only ſixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even theſe followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified, or ſo unfortunate, was Lucullus, with reſpect to the firſt and greateſt

requiſite in a general gaining the hearts of his ſoldiers. Had this been added to his many other great and admirable talents, his courage, his vigilance, his prudence, and juſtice, the Roman empire would not have been terminated, on the ſide of Aſia, by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian ſea and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations; and the power of the Parthians was neither ſo great nor ſo united in itſelf, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it was afterwards in the time of Craſſus. On the contrary, they were weakened by inteſtine wars and by hoſtilities with their neighbors, inſomuch that they were not able to repel the inſults of the Armenians. In my opinion, indeed, the advantages which his country reaped from Lucullus, were not equivalent to the calamities which he occaſioned others to bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia juſt in the neighborhood of Parthia, the palms of Tigranocerta and Niſibis, with all their vaſt wealth carried in triumph to Rome, and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the ſhow, drew Craſſus into Aſia; as if its barbarous inhabitants had been a ſure and eaſy prey. However, when he met the Parthian arrows, he ſoon found that the ſucceſs of Lucullus was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy.

Upon his return to Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius, for the practices he had given in to during his quæſtorſhip, by order of Sylla. And when Marcus was acquitted, Memmius turned againſt Lucullus himſelf; alleging that he had converted a great deal of the booty to his own private uſe, and had wilfully protracted the war. By theſe means he endeavored to exaſperate the people againſt him, and to prevail with them to refuſe him his triumph. Lucullus was in great danger of loſing it; but at this criſis the firſt and greateſt men in Rome mixed with the tribes, and, after much canvaſſing and the moſt engaging application, with great difficulty procured him the triumph.

Its glory did not conſiſt like that of others in the length of the proceſſion, or in the aſtoniſhing pomp and quantity of ſpoils, but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, the engines and other warlike equipage of the kings. With theſe he had adorned the Circus Flaminius, and

they made a very agreeable and reſpectable ſhow. In the proceſſion there were a few of the heavy armed cavalry, and ten chariots armed with ſcythes. Theſe were followed by ſixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the kings. After them were drawn a hundred and ten galleys with brazen beaks. The next objects were a ſtatue of Mithridates in maſſy gold, full ſix feet high, and his ſhield ſet with precious ſtones. Then came up twenty exhibitions of ſilver veſſels, and two and thirty more of gold cups, arms, and gold coin. All theſe things were borne by men. Theſe were followed by eight mules which carried beds of gold, and fiftyſix more loaded with ſilver bullion. After theſe came a hundred and ſeven other mules, bearing ſilver coin to the amount of near two million ſeven hundred thouſand drachmas. The proceſſion was cloſed with the regiſters of the money with which he had furniſhed Pompey for the war with the pirates, what he had remitted the quæſtors for the public treaſury, and the diſtributions he had made among the ſoldiers at the rate of nine hundred and fifty drachmas each man.—The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the ſiſter of Cato, but this ſecond match was not more fortunate than the firſt. Servilia wanted no ſtain which Clodia had, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other reſpects ſhe was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himſelf, however, to endure her a long time out of reverence to Cato, but at laſt repudiated her too.

The ſenate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoiſe to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector of the whole patrician order; the rather becauſe he had acquired ſo much honor and authority by his great actions. He gave up the cauſe, however, and quitted all pretenſions to the adminiſtration: Whether it was that he ſaw the conſtitution in too ſickly and declining a condition to be corrected; or whether, as others will have it, that being ſatiated with public honors, and having gone through many labors and conflicts which had not the moſt fortunate iſſue, he choſe to retire to a life of eaſe and indulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much bet-

ter than the diſtempered meaſures of Marius; who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious achievements, was not content with the admiration of his countrymen, but from an inſatiable thirſt of power, contended, in the decline of life, with the ambition of young men, falling into dreadful crimes, and into ſufferings ſtill more dreadful. "How much happier," ſaid they, "would it "have been for Cicero if he had retired after the affair "of Catiline; and for Scipio, if he had furled his ſails, "when he added Numantia to Carthage. For there is "a period when we ſhould bid adieu to political conteſts; "theſe, as well as well as thoſe of wreſtlers, being abſurd, "when the ſtrength and vigor of life is gone."

On the other hand, Craſſus and Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for giving into a life of pleaſure and expenſe; thinking it full as unſeaſonable at his time of life to plunge into luxury, as to direct the adminiſtration or lead armies into the field. Indeed, the life of Lucullus does look like the ancient comedy,* where firſt we ſee great actions both political and military, and afterwards feaſts, debauchees (I had almoſt ſaid maſquerades) races by torch light, and every kind of frivolous amuſement. For among frivolous amuſements I cannot but reckon his ſumptuous villas, walks, and baths, and ſtill more ſo, the paintings, ſtatues, and other works of art, which he collected at an immenſe expenſe; idly ſquandering away upon them the vaſt fortune which he had amaſſed in the wars.† Inſomuch, that even now, when luxury has made ſo much greater advances, the gardens of Lucullus are numbered with thoſe of kings, and the moſt magnificent even of thoſe. When Tubero, the Stoic, beheld his works on the ſeacoaſt near Naples, the hills he had excavated for vaults and cellars, the reſervoirs he had formed about his houſes, to receive the ſea for the feeding of his

* The ancient ſatirical or comic pieces were partly tragical, and partly comical. The Cyclops of Euripides is the only piece of that kind which is extant.

† Plutarch's philoſophy ſeems a little too ſevere on this occaſion; for it is not eaſy to ſee how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly laid out than in the encouragement of the arts. It is to be obſerved, however, that the immenſe wealth Lucullus reſerved to himſelf in his Aſiatic expedition, in ſome meaſure, juſtifies the complaints of his army on that ſubject.

fish, and his edifices in the sea itself; the philosopher called him Xerxes in a gown.* Beside these, he had the most superb pleasure horses in the country near Tusculum, adorned with grand galleries and open saloons, as well for the prospect as for walks. Pompey, on a visit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the summer, and absolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus answered with a smile, "What then, "do you think I have not so much sense as the cranes "and storks, which change their habitations with the "seasons?"

A prætor, who wanted to exhibit magnificent games, applied to Lucullus for some purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and he told him, he would inquire whether he could furnish him or not. Next day he asked him, how many he wanted. The prætor answered, "A hundred would be sufficient:" Upon which Lucullus said, "He might have twice that number if he pleased." The poet Horace makes this remark on the occasion:

> Poor is the house, where plenty has not stores
> That miss the master's eye———

His daily repasts were like those of a man suddenly grown rich; pompous not only in the beds which were covered with purple carpets, the sideboards of plate set with precious stones, and all the entertainment which musicians and commedians could furnish; but in the vast variety and exquisite dressing of the provisions. These things excited the admiration of men of unenlarged minds. Pompey, therefore, was highly applauded for the answer he gave his physician in a fit of sickness. The physician had ordered him to eat a thrush,† and his servants told him, "That as it was summer, there "were no thrushes to be found except in the menageries "of Lucullus." But he would not suffer them to ap-

* This refers to the hills Lucullus bored for the completion of his vaults, or for the admission of water. Xerxes had bored through Mount Athos and made a passage under it for his ships.

† The Greek κιχλη, also signifies a seafish, as appears from Aristotle and Athenæus; and it is not easy to say which is here meant; for Lucullus was no less curious in his fishponds than in his aviaries; and by admitting saltwater into them, could be supplied with every species through every season.

ply for them there; and said to his physician, "Must "Pompey then have died, if Lucullus had not been an "epicure?" At the same time, he bade them provide him something which was to be had without difficulty.

Cato, though he was a friend, as well as relation, to Lucullus, was so much displeased with the luxury in which he lived, that when a young man made a long and unseasonable speech in the house about frugality and temperance, Cato rose up and said, "Will you never have "done? Do you, who have the wealth of Crassus, and "live like Lucullus, pretend to speak like Cato." But some, though they allow that there was such a rebuke, say it came from another person.

That Lucullus was not only delighted with this way of living, but even piqued himself upon it, appears from several of his remarkable sayings. He entertained for a considerable time some Greeks who had travelled to Rome, till remembering the simplicity of diet in their own country, they were ashamed to wait on him any longer, and desired to be excused on account of the daily expense they brought upon him. He smiled, and said, "It is true, my Grecian friends, some part of this provi-"sion is for you, but the greatest part is for Lucullus." Another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision, he called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant said, he thought, as no body was invited, his master would not want an expensive supper. "What!" said he, "didst thou not "know that this evening Lucullus sups with Lucullus." As this was the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the *forum*, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and though he had some difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used to see each other and converse freely and familiarly. Cicero, after the common salutations, asked him, "Whether he was at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "Then we will wait "on you," said Cicero, "this evening, on condition "you give us nothing but what is provided for your-"self." Lucullus made some difficulty of accepting the

condition, and desired them to put off their favor till another day. But they insisted it should be that very evening, and would not suffer him to speak to his servants, lest he should order some addition to the supper. Only, at his request, they allowed him to tell one of them in their presence, "He should sup that evening in the "Apollo;" which was the name of one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited had no notion of his stratagem; but, it seems, each of his dining rooms had its particular allowance for provisions, and service of plate, as well as other furniture. So that the servants hearing what room he would sup in, knew very well what expense they were to go to, and what sideboard and carpets they were to use. The stated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and the whole sum was laid out that evening. Pompey, of course, when he saw so vast and expensive a provision, was surprised at the expedition with which it was prepared. In this respect Lucullus used his riches with all the disregard one might expect to be shown to so many captives and barbarians.

But the great expense he incurred in collecting books, deserves a serious approbation. The number of volumes was great, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the use he made of them was more honorable than the acquisition. His libraries were open to all; the Greeks repaired at pleasure to the galleries and porticos, as to the retreat of the Muses, and there spent whole days in conversation on matters of learning; delighted to retire to such a scene from business and from care. Lucullus himself often joined these learned men in their walks, and conferred with them; and when he was applied to about the affairs of their country, he gave them his assistance and advice. So that his house was in fact an asylum and senate house to all the Greeks that visited Rome.

He had a veneration for philosophy in general, and there was no sect which he absolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was to the Academy; not that which is called the new, though that flourished and was supported by Philo, who walked in the steps of Carneades; but the old academy, whose doctrines were then taught by Antiochus of Ascalon, a man of the most persuasive powers. Lucullus sought his friendship with

great avidity; and having prevailed with him to give him his company, let him to oppoſe the diſciples of Philo. Cicero was of the number, and wrote an ingenious book againſt the old academy, in which he makes Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in diſpute, namely, that there is ſuch a thing as certain knowledge, and himſelf maintains the contrary. The book is entitled LUCULLUS.—They were, indeed, as we have obſerved, ſincere friends, and acted upon the ſame principle in the adminiſtration. For Lucullus had not entirely abandoned the concerns of government; he only gave up the point as to the firſt influence and direction. The conteſt for that, he ſaw, might be attended not only with danger but diſgrace, and therefore he ſoon left it to Craſſus and Cato. When he had refuſed to take the lead, thoſe who looked upon the power of Pompey with a ſuſpicious eye, pitched upon Craſſus and Cato to ſupport the patrician intereſts. Lucullus, notwithſtanding, gave his attendance in the *forum*, when the buſineſs of his friends required it; and he did the ſame in the ſenate houſe, when there was any ambitious deſign of Pompey to combat. He got Pompey's orders annulled, which he had made after the conqueſt of the two kings; and, with the aſſiſtance of Cato, threw out his bill for a diſtribution of lands among his veterans.*

This threw Pompey into the arms of Craſſus and Cæſar, or rather he conſpired with them againſt the commonwealth; and having filled the city with ſoldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus out of the *forum*, and got his acts eſtabliſhed by force.

As theſe proceedings were highly reſented by all who had the intereſt of their country at heart, Pompey's party inſtructed one Vettius† to act a part; and gave it out that they had detected him in a deſign againſt Pompey's

* Plutarch ſays ſimply *νεμησιν τινα*, a certain diſtribution. Amiot and Dacier ſay it was of money. But we agree with the Latin and former Engliſh tranſlator, that it was of lands. Indeed, this appears to have been the caſe, from the ancient hiſtorians; who inform us, that it was in the ſame bill that Pompey moved to have all his acts in the Eaſt confirmed, and a diſtribution of lands made among his veterans.

† In the text it is Βρεττιον τινα, one Brettius, or a certain Brutian But it is clear from Cicero, Appian, and Dion, that it ſhould be read Vettius. The alteration is very eaſy from Βεττιον to Βρεττιον.

life. When Vectius was examined in the ſenate, he ſaid, it was at the inſtigation of others; but in the aſſembly of the people, he affirmed, Lucullus was the man who put him upon it. No one gave credit to the aſſertion; and a few days after, it was very evident that the wretch was ſuborned to accuſe an innocent man, when his dead body was thrown out of the priſon. Pompey's party ſaid, he had laid violent hands upon himſelf; but the marks of the cord that had ſtrangled him, and of the blows he had received, ſhowed plainly that he was killed by the perſons who ſuborned him.

This event made Lucullus ſtill more unwilling to interfere in the concerns of government; and when Cicero was baniſhed, and Cato ſent to Cyprus, he quitted them entirely. It is ſaid, that his underſtanding gradually failed, and that before his death it was abſolutely gone. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, aſſerts that this failure of his intellects was not owing to ſickneſs or old age, but to a potion given him by an enfranchiſed ſlave of his, named Caliſthenes. Nor did Caliſthenes give it him as a poiſon, but as a love potion. However, inſtead of conciliating his maſter's regards to him, it deprived him of his ſenſes; ſo that during the laſt years of his life, his brother had the care of his eſtate.

Nevertheleſs when he died, he was as much regretted by the people, as if he had departed in that height of glory to which his merit in war, and in the adminiſtration, had raiſed him. They crowded to the proceſſion; and the body being carried into the *forum* by ſome young men of the firſt quality, they inſiſted it ſhould be buried in the *Campus Martius*, as that of Sylla had been. As this was a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could not eaſily be made, his brother, with much entreaty, prevailed with them, to have the obſequies performed on the Tuſculan eſtate, where every thing was provided for that purpoſe. Nor did he long ſurvive him. As he had followed him cloſe in the courſe of years and honors, ſo he was not far behind him in his journey to the grave; to which he bore the character of the beſt and moſt affectionate of brothers.

CIMON AND LUCULLUS.

COMPARED.

WE cannot but think the exit of Lucullus happy, as he did not live to ſee that change in the conſtitution which fate was preparing for his country in the civil wars. Though the commonwealth was in a ſickly ſtate, yet he left it free. In this reſpect the caſe of Cimon was particularly ſimilar. For he died while Greece was at the height of her proſperity, and before ſhe was involved in thoſe troubles which proved ſo fatal to her. It is true, there is this difference, Cimon died in his camp, in the office of general; not like a man, who fatigued with war, and avoiding its conflicts, ſought the reward of his military labors, and of the laurels he had won, in the delicacies of the table and the joys of wine. In this view Plato was right in his cenſure of the followers of Orpheus,* who had placed the rewards of futurity provided for the good, in everlaſting intoxication. No doubt, eaſe, tranquillity, literary reſearches, and the pleaſures of contemplation, furniſh the moſt ſuitable retreat for a man in years, who has bid adieu to military and political purſuits. But to propoſe pleaſure as the end of great achievements, and, after long expeditions and commands, to lead up the dance of Venus, and riot in her ſmiles, was ſo far from being worthy of the famed academy, and a follower of the ſage Xenocrates, that it rather became a diſciple of Epicurus. This is the more ſurpriſing becauſe Cimon ſeems to have ſpent his youth in luxury and diſſipation, and Lucullus in letters and ſobriety. It is certainly another thing, notwithſtanding, to change for the better, and happier is the nature in which vices gradually die, and virtue flouriſhes.

They were equally wealthy, but did not apply their riches to the ſame purpoſes. For we cannot compare the palace

* The paſſage here alluded to, is in the ſecond book of Plato's Republic. Plato cenſures not Orpheus, but Muſæus and his ſon, for teaching this doctrine. Muſæus and his ſon Eumolpus were, however, diſciples of Orpheus; and τας περι τον Ορφεα may admit of that interpretation.

at Naples and the Belvideres amidſt the water, which Lucullus erected with the barbarian ſpoils, to the ſouth wall of the citadel which Cimon built with the treaſure he brought from the wars. Nor can the ſumptuous table of Lucullus, which favored too much of eaſtern magnificence, be put in competition with the open and benevolent table of Cimon. The one, at a moderate charge, daily nouriſhed great numbers of poor; the other, at a vaſt expenſe, pleaſed the appetites of a few of the rich and the voluptuous. Perhaps, indeed, ſome allowance muſt be made for the difference of the time. We know not whether Cimon, if he had lived to be old, and retired from the concerns of war and of the ſtate, might not have given into a more pompous and luxurious way of living; for he naturally loved wine and company, was a promoter of public feaſts and games, and remarkable, as we have obſerved, for his inclination for the ſex. But glorious enterprizes and great actions, being attended with pleaſures of another kind, leave no leiſure for inferior gratifications; nay, they baniſh them from the thoughts of perſons of great abilities for the field and the cabinet. And if Lucullus had finiſhed his days in high commands and amidſt the conflicts of war, I am perſuaded, the moſt envious caviller could have found nothing to reproach him with. So much with reſpect to their way of living.

As to their military character, it is certain they were able commanders both at ſea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland not only in wreſtling, but in the *Pancration*;* are not ſimply called victors, but by the cuſtom of the games, *the flowers of the victory*;† ſo Cimon, having crowned Greece with two

* The Pancration conſiſted of boxing and wreſtling together.

† Ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τὸς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾳ πάλῃ μιᾳ καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανουμένους, ἔθει τινὶ παραδοξωνικας καλοῦσι.

Here the ſecond μιᾳ is viſibly redundant, and therefore ſome other part of the paſſage may probably be corrupted. Henry Stephens conjectures, that inſtead of παραδοξῶ νικας, we ſhould read in one word παραδοξονικας, and Salvini ſays he found the form in an ancient inſcription. Dacier, when he propoſes to read παγκρατονικας, *conquerors in the whole circle of games*, ſeems, by confounding it with the Pentathlon, to have forgot what the Pancra-

victories gained in one day, the one at land, the other a naval one, deserves some preference in the list of generals.

Lucullus was indebted to his country for his power, and Cimon promoted the power of his country. The one found Rome commanding the allies, and under her auspices extended her conquests; the other found Athens obeying, instead of commanding, and yet gained her the chief authority among her allies, as well as conquered her enemies. The Persians he defeated, and drove them out of the sea, and he persuaded the Lacedæmonians voluntarily to surrender the command.

If it be the greatest work of a general to bring his men to obey him from a principle of affection, we shall find Lucullus greatly deficient in this respect. He was despised by his own troops, whereas Cimon commanded the veneration not only of his own soldiers, but of all the allies. The former was deserted by his own, and the latter was courted by strangers. The one set out with a fine army, and returned alone, abandoned by that army; the other went out with troops subject to the orders they should receive from another general, and at his return they were at the head of the whole league. Thus he gained three of the most difficult points imaginable, peace with the enemy, the lead among the allies, and a good understanding with Sparta.

They both attempted to conquer great kingdoms, and to subdue all Asia, but their purposes were unsuccessful. Cimon's course was stopped by fortune; he died with his commission in his hand, and in the height of his prosperity. Lucullus, on the other hand, cannot possibly be excused, as to the loss of his authority, since he must either have been ignorant of the grievances of his army, which ended in so incurable an aversion, or unwilling to redress them.

This he has in common with Cimon, that he was impeached by his countrymen. The Athenians, it is true,

ation was. The Pentathlon, or five games, were boxing, the race, leaping, playing at quoits, and wrestling. Dacier's words are these—"Cinq combats composient ce qu'on appelloit le Pan-"crace, dont les Athletes etoient appellees Pentathle." But in fact, as we have observed above, the Pancration consisted only of two of the five united.

went farther; they baniſhed Cimon by the oſtraciſm, that they might not, as Plato expreſſes it, hear his voice for ten years. Indeed, the proceedings of the ariſtocratical party are ſeldom acceptable to the people; for while they are obliged to uſe ſome violence for the correction of what is amiſs, their meaſures reſemble the bandages of ſurgeons, which are uneaſy at the ſame time that they reduce the diſlocation. But in this reſpect, perhaps, we may exculpate both the one and the other.

Lucullus carried his arms much the fartheſt. He was the firſt who led a Roman army over Mount Taurus, and paſſed the Tigris. He took and burnt the royal cities of Aſia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, Niſibis, in the ſight of their reſpective kings. On the north he penetrated as far as the Phacis, on the eaſt to Media, and on the ſouth to the Red Sea, by the favor and aſſiſtance of the princes of Arabia. He overthrew the armies of the two great kings, and would certainly have taken them, had they not fled, like ſavages, into diſtant ſolitudes and inacceſſible woods. A certain proof of the advantage Lucullus has in this reſpect, is, that the Perſians, as if they had ſuffered nothing from Cimon, ſoon made head againſt the Greeks, and cut in pieces a great army of theirs in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates could effect nothing after the blow they had received from Lucullus. Mithridates, enfeebled by the conflicts he had undergone, did not once venture to face Pompey in the field; inſtead of that, he fled to the Boſphorus, and there put a period to his life. As for Tigranes, he delivered himſelf naked and unarmed to Pompey, took his diadem from his head, and laid it at his feet; in which he complimented Pompey, not with what was his own, but with what belonged to the laurels of Lucullus. The poor prince, by the joy with which he received the enſigns of royalty again, confeſſed that he had abſolutely loſt them. However, he muſt be deemed the greater general, as well as the greater champion, who delivers his adverſary, weak and breathleſs, to the next combatant.

Beſides, Cimon found the king of Perſia extremely weakened, and the pride of his people humbled, by the loſſes and defeats they had experienced from Themiſtocles, Pauſanias, and Leotychidas; and their hands could not make much reſiſtance, when their hearts were gone.

But Lucullus met Tigranes freſh and unfoiled, elated and exulting in the battles he had fought, and the victories he had won.* Nor is the number of the enemy's troops which Cimon defeated, in the leaſt to be compared to that of thoſe who gave battle to Lucullus.

In ſhort, when we weigh all the advantages of each of theſe great men, it is hard to ſay to which ſide the balance inclines. Heaven appears to have favored both; directing the one to what he ſhould do, and warning the other what he ſhould avoid. So that the gods bore witneſs of their virtue, and regarded them as perſons in whom there was ſomething divine.

NICIAS.

WE have pitched upon Craſſus, as a proper perſon to be put in parallel with Nicias; and the misfortunes which befel the one in Parthia, with thoſe which overtook the other in Sicily. But we have an apology to make to the reader on another account. As we are now undertaking a hiſtory, where Thucydides, in the pathetic, has even outdone himſelf, and in energy and variety of compoſition is perfectly inimitable; we hope no one will ſuſpect we have the ambition of Timæus, who flattered himſelf he could exceed the power of Thucydides, and make Philiſtus† paſs for an inelegant and ordinary writer. Under the influence of that deception, Timæus plunges into the midſt of the battles both at ſea and land, and ſpeeches

* Πλεῖστα δ' ἂν ἄξιον παραβαλεῖν τοῖς περὶ Λεύκολλον συνελθοῦσι τοὺς ὑπὸ κίμωνος κρατηθέντας.

M. Dacier thinks, that if, beſide the other advantages juſt mentioned, the advantage be alſo allowed Lucullus in reſpect of the number of barbarians he had defeated, the balance muſt clearly incline to his ſide.

But while he ſays this, he ſeems to have forgot the preference his author had given Cimon, in reſpect to his continuing his labors for his country to the laſt hour of his life; the more excellent uſe and application of riches; his knowing how to gain and keep the hearts of his ſoldiers; and his gaining important victories on two different elements in one day.

† Philiſtus was ſo able a writer, that Cicero calls him the young Thucydides.

in which thoſe hiſtorians ſhine the moſt. However, he ſoon appears,

Not like a footman by the Lydian car,

as Pindar expreſſes it, but a ſhallow puerile writer,* or to uſe the words of the poet Diphilus,

——————— A heavy animal
Cas'd in Sicilian lard———

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of Xenarchus ;† as where he ſays, "He could not but conſider it as a bad "omen for the Athenians, that they had a general with "a name derived from victory,‡ who diſapproved the "expedition." As alſo, "That by the mutilation of "the Hermæ, the gods preſignified that they ſhould ſuf- "fer moſt in the Syracuſan war from Hermocrates the "ſon of Hermon."‖ And again, "It is probable that "Hercules aſſiſted the Syracuſans, becauſe Proſerpine de- "livered up Cerberus to him ; and that he was offended "at the Athenians for ſupporting the Ægeſteans, who "were deſcended from the Trojans, his mortal enemies, "whoſe city he had ſacked in revenge for the injuries he "had received from Laomedon." He made theſe fine obſervations with the ſame diſcernment, which put him upon finding fault with the language of Philiſtus, and cenſuring the writings of Plato and Ariſtotle.

For my part, I cannot but think, all emulation and jealouſy about expreſſion, betrays a littleneſs of mind, and is the characteriſtic of a ſophiſt ; and when that ſpirit of conteſt attempts things inimitable, it is perfectly abſurd.

* Timæus might have his vanity, and if he hoped to excel Thucydides he certainly had. Yet Cicero and Diodorus ſpeak of him as a very able hiſtorian. Longinus reconciles this cenſure and the praiſe. He ſays, ſometimes you find him in the grand and ſublime. But blind to his own defects, he is much inclined to cenſure others, and is ſo fond of thinking out of the common road, that he often ſinks into the utmoſt puerility.

† Xenarchus, the Peripatetic, was maſter to Strabo ; and Xenarchus, the comic poet, was author of ſeveral pieces of humor ; but we know no hiſtorian of that name.

‡ That is, Nicias. *Nice* ſignifies *victory*.

‖ Longinus quotes this paſſage as an example of the frigid ſtyle, and of thoſe puerilities he had condemned in Timæus.

Since, therefore, it is impoſſible, to paſs over in ſilence thoſe actions of Nicias which Thucydides and Philiſtus have recorded; eſpecially, ſuch as indicate his manners and diſpoſition, which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes; we ſhall give an abſtract from them of what appears moſt neceſſary, leſt we ſhould be accuſed of negligence or indolence. As for other matters not generally known, which are found ſcattered in hiſtorians, or in ancient inſcriptions and decrees, we ſhall collect them with care; not to gratify an uſeleſs curioſity, but by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to ſerve the purpoſes of real inſtruction.

The firſt thing I ſhall mention relating to him, is the obſervation of Ariſtotle:—That three of the moſt worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendſhip for the people, were Nicias the ſon of Niceratus, Thucydides the ſon of Mileſias, and Theramenes the ſon of Agnon. The laſt, indeed, was not ſo remarkable in this reſpect, as the other two. For he had been reproached with his birth, as a ſtranger come from the Iſle of Ceos; and from his want of firmneſs, or rather verſatility, in matters of government, he was called *the Buſkin*.*

Thucydides was the oldeſt of three; and when Pericles acted a flattering part to the people, he often oppoſed him in behalf of the nobility. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained ſome reputation while Pericles lived, inſomuch that he was ſeveral times his colleague in the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was ſoon advanced to the head of the adminiſtration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped he would prove a barrier againſt the daring inſolence of Cleon. He had, however, the good wiſhes of the people, and they contributed their ſhare to his advancement.

It is true, Cleon had conſiderable intereſt, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of thoſe whom he ſtudied to oblige, ſeeing his avarice and

* The form of the buſkin was ſuch that it might be worn indifferently on either leg.

effrontery, came over to Nicias. For the gravity of Nicias had nothing auſtere or moroſe in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people, in which fear ſeemed to be prevalent, and conſequently was very agreeable to them. Indeed, he was naturally timid and coldhearted; but this defect was concealed by the long courſe of ſucceſs with which fortune favored his expeditions. And his timidity in the aſſemblies of the people, and dread of perſons who made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regards of the multitude, who are afraid of thoſe that deſpiſe them, and love to promote thoſe that fear them; becauſe in general the greateſt honor they can hope to obtain, is not to be deſpiſed by the great.

As Pericles kept the reins of government in his hands, by means of real virtue and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out falſe colors, or to uſe any artifice with the people. Nicias was deficient in thoſe great endowments, but had ſuperior riches; and he applied them to the purpoſes of popularity. On the other hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and draw the people by an eaſy manner and the ſallies of buffoonery; and therefore he amuſed them with the choruſſes of tragedy, with gymnaſtic exerciſes, and ſuch like exhibitions, which far exceeded, in point of magnificence and elegance, all that went before him, and thoſe of his own times too. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be ſeen at this day; the one a ſtatue of Pallas dedicated in the citadel, which has loſt part of its gilding; the other a ſmall chapel in the temple of Bacchus, under the tripods, which are commonly offered up by thoſe who gain the prize in tragedy. Indeed, Nicias was already victorious in thoſe exhibitions. It is ſaid, that in a chorus of that kind, one of his ſlaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. The ſlave was of an uncommon ſize and beauty, but had not yet arrived at maturity; and the people were ſo charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At laſt, Nicias roſe up and ſaid, "He ſhould think it an act of "impiety to retain a perſon in ſervitude, who ſeemed by "the public voice to be conſecrated to a god;" and he enfranchiſed him upon the ſpot.

His regulations with reſpect to Delos, are ſtill ſpoken of, as worthy of the deity who preſides there. Before

his time, the choirs which the cities ſent to ſing the praiſes of Apollo,* landed in a diſorderly manner, becauſe the inhabitants of the iſland uſed to run up to the ſhip, and preſs them to ſing before they were diſembarked; ſo that they were forced to ſtrike up, as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of this ceremony, known by the name of Theoria, he landed firſt in the Iſle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other neceſſary preparations. He had taken care to have a bridge conſtructed before he left Athens, which ſhould reach from that iſle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded, and adorned with garlands, rich ſtuffs, and tapeſtry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large; and at break of day he marched over it at the head of the proceſſion, with his choir richly habited and ſinging hymns to the god. After the ſacrifices, the games and banquets were over, he conſecrated a palm tree of braſs to Apollo, and likewiſe a field which he had purchaſed for ten thouſand drachmas. The Delians were to lay out the income in ſacrifices and feaſting, and at the ſame time to pray for Apollo's bleſſing upon the founder. This is inſcribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his benefaction. As for the palm tree, it was broken by the winds, and the fragment falling upon a great ſtatue† which the people of Naxos had ſet up, demoliſhed it.

It is obvious, that moſt of theſe things were done for oſtentation, and with a view to popularity. Nevertheleſs, we may collect from the reſt of his life and conduct, that religion had the principal ſhare in theſe dedications, and that popularity was but a ſecondary motive. For he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the gods, and, as Thucydides obſerves, he was pious to a degree of ſuperſtition.‡ It is related in the dialogues of Paſiphon, that he ſacrificed every day, and that he had a diviner in his houſe, who, in appearance, inquired the ſucceſs of the public affairs, but in reality was much oftener conſulted

* There was a ſelect band of muſic annually ſent by the principal cities of Greece. The proceſſion was called Theoria, and it was looked upon as an honorable commiſſion to have the management of it.

† A ſtatue which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedeſtal has been diſcovered by ſome modern travellers.

‡ Thucyd. l. vii.

about his own; particularly as to the ſucceſs of his ſilver mines in the borough of Laurium; which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without danger. He maintained there a multitude of ſlaves; and the greateſt part of his fortune conſiſted in ſilver. So that he had many retainers, who aſked favors, and were not ſent away empty. For he gave not only to thoſe who deſerved his bounty, but to ſuch as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found reſources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witneſs to what I have advanced. Teleclides introduces a trading informer ſpeaking thus: "Charicles would not "give one *mina*, to prevent my declaring that he was the "firſt fruits of his mother's amors; but Nicias, the ſon "of Niceratus, gave me four. Why he did it, I ſhall not "ſay, though I know it perfectly well. For Nicias is "my friend, a very wiſe man beſides, in my opinion." Eupolis, in his *Marcia*, brings another informer upon the ſtage, who meets with ſome poor ignorant man, and thus addreſſes him:

"*Informer.* How long is it ſince you ſaw Nicias?

"*Poor Man.* I never ſaw him before this moment, "when he ſtood in the market place."

"*Informer.* Take notice, my friends, the man confeſſes "he has ſeen Nicias. And for what purpoſe could he "ſee him, but to ſell him his vote? Nicias, therefore, is "plainly taken in the fact."

"*Poet.* Ah, fools! do you think you can ever per-"ſuade the world, that ſo good a man as Nicias was taken "in malpractices."

Cleon in Ariſtophanes, ſays in a menacing tone, "I will outbawl the orators, and make Nicias tremble."* And Phrynichus glances at his exceſſive timidity, when, ſpeaking of another perſon, he ſays, "I know him to be an "honeſt man and a good citizen, one who does not walk "the ſtreets with a downcaſt look like Nicias."

With this fear of informers upon him, he would not ſup or diſcourſe with any of the citizens, or come into any of thoſe parties which make the time paſs ſo agree-

* This is in the Equites of Ariſtophanes, ver. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus who ſpeaks.

ably. When he was archon, he used to stay in court till night, being always the first that came, and the last that went away. When he had no public business upon his hands, he shut himself up at home, and was extremely difficult of access. And if any persons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuse Nicias, because he had some affairs under consideration which were of great importance to the state.

The person who assisted him most in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man for ever intent upon business, was one Hiero; who was brought up in his house, had a liberal education, and a taste of music given him there. He passed himself for the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, some of whose poems are still extant, and who having conducted a colony into Italy, founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all the private business of Nicias with the diviners; and whenever he came among the people, he used to tell them, "What a laborious and miserable life Nicias led "for their sakes. He cannot go to the bath," said he, "or the table, but some affair of state solicits his atten- "tion; and he neglects his own concerns, to take care "of the public. He can scarce find time for repose, till "the other citizens have had their first sleep. Amidst "these cares and labors his health declines daily, and his "temper is so broken that his friends no longer approach "him with pleasure; but he loses them too, after having "spent his fortune in your service. Meanwhile other "statesmen gain friends, and grow rich in their employ- "ments, and are sleek and merry in the steerage of gov- "ernment."

In fact, the life of Nicias was a life of so much care, that he might have justly applied to himself that expression of Agamemnon,

> In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me master,
> I'm servant of the people———

Nicias perceived that the commons availed themselves of the services of those who were distinguished for their eloquence or capacity; but that they were always jealous and on their guard against their great abilities, and that they endeavored to humble them, and to obstruct their progress in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of

Pericles, the baniſhment of Damon, the ſuſpicions they entertained of Antipho the Rhamnuſian, but above all, in the deſpair of Paches, who had taken Leſbos, and who being called to give an account of his conduct, drew his ſword and killed himſelf in open court.

Warned by theſe examples, he endeavored to avoid ſuch expeditions as he thought long and difficult; and when he did take the command, he made it his buſineſs to proceed upon a ſure plan. For this reaſon he was generally ſucceſsful; yet he aſcribed his ſucceſs to fortune, and took refuge under the wings of the divinity; contenting himſelf with a ſmaller portion of honor, leſt envy ſhould rob him of the whole.

The event ſhowed the prudence of his conduct. For, though the Athenians received many great blows in thoſe times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcideans in Thrace, Calliades* and Xenophon had the command; Demoſthenes was general, when they miſcarried in Ætolia; and when they loſt a thouſand men at Delium,† they were under the conduct of Hippocrates. As for the plague, it was commonly thought to be occaſioned by Pericles; who, to draw the burghers out of the way of the war, ſhut them up in the city, where they contracted the ſickneſs by the change of ſituation and diet.

None of theſe misfortunes were imputed to Nicias: On the contrary, he took Cythera, an iſland well ſituated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedæmonians. He recovered many places in Thrace, which had revolted from the Athenians. He ſhut up the Megarenſians within their walls, and reduced the iſland of Minoa. From thence he made an excurſion ſoon after, and got poſſeſſion of the port of Niſæa. He likewiſe made a deſcent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that ſtate in a pitched battle, and killed great numbers of them: Lycophron, their general, was among the ſlain.

* Perhaps, we ſhould read Callias. See Menag. on Diog. Laert. ii. 45.

† Delium in Bœotia. Delos, the common reading is undoubtedly wrong. The Athenians had no ſuch loſs there. But their defeat at Delium is related at large by Thucydides, l. iv.

He happened to leave there the bodies of two of his men, who were miſſed in carrying off the dead. But as ſoon as he knew it, he ſtopped his courſe, and ſent a herald to the enemy, to aſk leave to take away thoſe bodies. This he did, though there was a law and cuſtom ſubſiſting, by which thoſe who deſire a treaty for carrying off the dead, give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And indeed, thoſe who are ſo far maſters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permiſſion, appear to be conquerors, becauſe no man would aſk that as a favor which he could command. Nicias, however, choſe rather to loſe his laurels, than to leave two of his countrymen unburied.*

After he had ravaged the coaſt of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedæmonians, who attempted to oppoſe him, he took the fortreſs of Thyræa,† then held by the Æginetæ, made the garriſon priſoners, and carried them to Athens. Demoſthenes having fortified Pylos,‡ the Peloponneſians beſieged it both by ſea and land. A battle enſued, in which they were worſted, and about four hundred Spartans threw themſelves into the iſle of Sphacteria. The taking of them ſeemed, and indeed was, an important object to the Athenians. But the ſiege was difficult, becauſe there was no water to be had upon the ſpot, and it was troubleſome and expenſive to get convoys thither; in ſummer they were obliged to take a long circuit, and in winter it was abſolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed about the affair, and repented their refuſing the terms of peace which the Lacedæmonians had offered by their ambaſſadors.

* The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghoſt of an unburied perſon not being allowed to paſs the Styx, is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put ſix of their generals to death, for not interring thoſe ſoldiers that were ſlain in the battle of Arginuſæ.

† Thyræa was a fort ſituated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It belonged of right to the Lacedæmonians, but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been expelled their country.

‡ The Peloponneſians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis the ſon of Archidamus, and ravaged the country. Demoſthenes, the Athenian general, made a diverſion, by ſeizing and fortifying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country. *Thucyd.* l. iv.

It was through Cleon that the embaſſy did not take effect; he oppoſed the peace becauſe Nicias was for it. Cleon was his mortal enemy, and ſeeing him countenance the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded the people to reject their propoſitions by a formal decree. But when they found that the ſiege was drawn out to a great length, and that there was almoſt a famine in their camp, they expreſſed their reſentment againſt Cleon. Cleon, for his part, laid the blame upon Nicias; alleging, that if the enemy eſcaped, it muſt be through his ſlow and timid operations: "Had I been the general," ſaid he, "they could not have "held out ſo long." The Athenians readily anſwered, "Why do not you go now againſt thoſe Spartans?" And Nicias roſe up and declared, "He would freely give up "to him the command in the affair of Pylos; bade him "take what forces he pleaſed; and, inſtead of ſhowing his "courage in words, where there was no danger, go and "perform ſome actions worthy the attention of his coun-"try."

Cleon, diſconcerted with the unexpected offer, declined it at firſt. But when he found the Athenians inſiſted upon it, and that Nicias took his advantage to raiſe a clamor againſt him, his pride was hurt, and he was incenſed to ſuch a degree, that he not only undertook the expedition, but declared, "He would in twenty days either put the "enemy to the ſword, or bring them alive to Athens."

The people laughed at his declaration,* inſtead of giving it any credit. Indeed, they had long been accuſtomed to divert themſelves with the ſallies of his vanity. One day, for inſtance, when a general aſſembly was to be held, they had ſat waiting for him a long time. At laſt he came, when their patience was almoſt ſpent, with a garland on his head, and deſired them to adjourn until the day following: "For, today," ſays he, "I am not at leiſ-"ure; I have ſtrangers to entertain, and I have ſacrificed "to the gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately roſe up and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Cleon, however, was ſo much favored by fortune in this commiſſion, that he acquitted himſelf better than any

* The wiſer ſort hoped either to have the pleaſure of ſeeing the Lacedæmonians brought priſoners to Athens, or elſe of getting rid of the importunate pretenſions of Cleon.

one ſince Demoſthenes. He returned within the time he had fixed, after he had made all the Spartans who did not fall in battle, deliver up their arms, and brought them priſoners to Athens.

This reflected no ſmall diſgrace upon Nicias. It was conſidered as ſomething worſe than throwing away his ſhield, meanly to quit his command, and to give his enemy an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his abdication. Hence, Ariſtophanes ridicules him in his comedy, called *The Birds*. "By heaven, this is no time for "us to ſlumber, or to imitate the lazy operations of Ni-"cias." And in his piece entitled *The Huſbandman*, he introduces two Athenians diſcourſing thus—

"*1ſt Athenian.* I had rather ſtay at home and till the "ground."

"*2d Athenian.* And who hinders thee?"

"*1ſt Athenian.* You hinder me. And yet I am willing "to pay a thouſand drachmas to be excuſed taking the "commiſſion."

"*2d Athenian.* Let us ſee. Your thouſand drachmas, "with thoſe of Nicias, will make two thouſand. We "will excuſe you."

Nicias, in this affair, was not only unjuſt to himſelf, but to the ſtate. He ſuffered Cleon by this means to gain ſuch an aſcendant, as led him to a degree of pride and effrontery that was unſupportable. Many evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth, of which Nicias himſelf had his full ſhare. We cannot but conſider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now baniſhed all decorum from the general aſſembly. It was he who in his ſpeeches firſt broke out into violent exclamations, threw back his robes, ſmote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the *roſtrum* to the other. This ſoon introduced ſuch a licentiouſneſs and diſregard to decency among thoſe who directed the affairs of ſtate, that it threw the whole government into confuſion.

At this time there ſprung up another orator at Athens. This was Alcibiades. He did not prove ſo totally corrupt as Cleon. As it is ſaid of the land of Egypt, that, on account of its extreme fertility,

> There plenty ſows the fields with herbs ſalubrious,
> But ſcatters many a baneful weed between;

So in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes; and theſe extremes opened a door to many innovations. So that when Nicias got clear of Cleon, he had no time to eſtabliſh any laſting tranquility in Athens; but as ſoon as he had got things into a ſafe track, the ambition of Alcibiades came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the ſtorms of war.

It happened thus: The perſons who moſt oppoſed the peace of Greece, were Cleon and Braſidas. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to ſhow the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunity for acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion, and Braſidas for great and glorious actions. But after they both fell in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias applied to the Lacedæmonians on one hand, who had been for ſome time deſirous of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no longer ſo warm in the purſuits of war. In fact, both parties were tired of hoſtilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias, therefore, uſed his endeavors to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver all the Greeks from the calamities they had ſuffered, to bring them to taſte the ſweets of repoſe, and to reeſtabliſh a long and laſting reign of happineſs. He immediately found the rich, the aged, and all that were employed in the culture of the ground, diſpoſed to peace; and by addreſſing himſelf to the reſt, and expoſtulating with them reſpectively, he ſoon abated their ardor for war.

His next ſtep was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propoſe ſuch meaſures as might effect it. They readily confided in him, becauſe they knew the goodneſs of his heart; of which there was a late inſtance in his humane treatment of their countrymen who were taken priſoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms for one year; during which time they often met, and enjoyed again the pleaſures of eaſe and ſecurity; the company of ſtrangers as well as nearer friends; and expreſſed their mutual wiſhes for the continuance of a life undiſturbed with the horrors of war. It was with great delight they heard the chorus in ſuch ſtrains as this:

Arachne freely now has leave
Her webs around my ſpear to weave.

They recollected with pleasure the saying, "That in "time of peace men are awaked not by the sound of the "trumpet, but the crowing of the cock." They execrated those who said, it was decreed by fate that the war should last three times nine years;* and this free intercourse leading them to canvass every point, they at last signed the peace.†

It was now the general opinion, that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of but Nicias. He they said, was a man beloved of the gods, who, in recompense of his piety, had thought proper that the greatest and most desirable of all blessings should bear his name. It is certain, they ascribed the peace to Nicias, as they did the war to Pericles. And indeed, the one did plunge them upon slight pretences into numberless calamities, and the other persuaded them to bury the greatest of injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is therefore, called the *Niceant* peace to this very day.

It was agreed in the articles, that both parties should restore the towns and the prisoners they had taken; and it was to be determined by lot, which of them should do it first; but, according to Theophrastus, Nicias secured the lot by dint of money, so that the Lacedæmonians were forced to lead the way. As the Corinthians and Bœotians were displeased by these proceedings, and endeavored, by sowing jealousies between the contracting powers, to renew the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, to confirm the peace, and to support each other, by a league offensive and defensive. This, he expected would intimidate those who were inclined to fly off.

* "I remember," says Thucydides, "that throughout the "whole war many maintained it was to last three times nine "years. And if we reckon the first ten years of the war, the "truce very short and ill observed that followed it, the treaties "ill executed, and the war that was renewed thereupon, we shall "find the oracle fully justified by the event. *Thucyd.* l. v.

† Peace for fifty years was agreed upon and signed the year following; but it was soon broken again.

‡ The word in the original is Νικιειον, which is equivalent to Τροπαιον, *trophy*. As much as to say, it was the trophy, or the masterpiece of Nicias.

During theſe tranſactions, Alcibiades at firſt made it his buſineſs privately to oppoſe the peace. For he was naturally diſinclined to inaction, and was moreover offended at the Lacedæmonians, on account of their attachment to Nicias, and their neglect and diſregard of him. But when he found this private oppoſition ineffectual, he took another method. In a little time he ſaw the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedæmonians with ſo obliging an eye as before, becauſe they thought themſelves injured by the alliance which their new friends had entered into with the Bœotians, and becauſe they had not delivered up Panactus and Amphipolis in the condition they found them. He therefore dwelt upon theſe points, and endeavored to inflame the people's reſentment. Beſides, he perſuaded, and at laſt prevailed upon the republic of Argos, to ſend an embaſſy, for the purpoſe of negotiating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of this, they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, with full powers to ſettle all matters in diſpute. Theſe plenipotentiaries were introduced to the ſenate, and their propoſals ſeemed perfectly juſt and reaſonable. Alcibiades, upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the ſame overtures, circumvented them by perfidious oaths and aſſeverations: "Promiſing he would ſecure the ſucceſs of their commiſſion, if they would not declare that they came with "full powers; and aſſuring them that no other method "would be ſo effectual." They gave credit to his inſinuations, and went over from Nicias to him.

Upon introducing them to the people, the firſt queſtion he aſked them was, "Whether they came with full pow-"ers?" They denied it as they were inſtructed. Then Alcibiades, beyond all their expectation, changing ſides, called the ſenate to bear witneſs to their former declarations, and deſired the people, "Not to give the leaſt cred-"it or attention to ſuch manifeſt prevaricators, who "upon the ſame point aſſerted one thing one day, "and another thing the next." Their confuſion was inexpreſſible, as may well be imagined, and Nicias was ſtruck dumb with grief and aſtoniſhment. The people of courſe ſent immediately for the deputies of Argos, to conclude the treaty with them. But at that very moment

there happened a slight shock of an earthquake, which, favorably for Nicias, broke up the assembly.

Next day they assembled again; and Nicias, by exerting all his powers, with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the last hand to the league with Argos; but, instead of that, to send him to Sparta,* where he assured them all would be well. When he arrived there, he was treated with great respect, as a man of honor, and one who had shown that republic great friendship; however, as the party that favored the Bœotians was the strongest, he could effect nothing.† He returned, therefore, not only with disrepute and disgrace, but was apprehensive of worse consequences from the Athenians, who were greatly chagrined and provoked, that, at his persuasion, they had set free so many prisoners, and prisoners of such distinction. For those brought from Pylos, were of the first families in Sparta, and had connexions with the greatest personages there. Notwithstanding this, they did not express their resentment in any act of severity; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans, who had quitted the Lacedæmonian interest, into league with them, along with the Argives. They then sent a marauding party to Pylos, from thence to make excursions into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afresh.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades rose daily to a greater height, the ostracism was proposed. To this the people have recourse at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is suspected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were greatly alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them. The Athenians detested the life and manners of Alcibiades, and at the same time they dreaded his enterprizing spirit, as we have related more at large in his life. As for Nicias, his riches exposed him to envy, and the rather, because there was nothing social or popular in his manner of living; on the contrary, his recluse turn seemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taste. Besides,

* There were others joined in commission with him.

† Nicias insisted that the Spartans should renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, because they had not acceded to the peace.

he had combated their opinions, and by making them purſue their own intereſt againſt their inclination, was of courſe become obnoxious. In one word, the whole was a diſpute between the young who wanted war, and the old who were lovers of peace. The former endeavored to make the oſtraciſm fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades :

But in ſeditions bad men riſe to honor.

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the ſubtleſt and moſt profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus of the ward of Perithois ; a man whoſe boldneſs was not owing to any well grounded influence, but whoſe influence was owing to his boldneſs ; and who diſgraced the city by the credit he had acquired.

This wretch had no apprehenſions of baniſhment by the honorable ſuffrage of the oſtraciſm, becauſe he knew himſelf fitter for a gibbet. Hoping, however, that if one of theſe great men were baniſhed, he ſhould be able to make head againſt the other, he diſſembled not his joy at this ſpirit of party, but ſtrove to exaſperate the people againſt both. Nicias and Alcibiades taking notice of his malice, came to a private interview, in which they agreed to unite their intereſts ; and by that means avoided the oſtraciſm themſelves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At firſt the people were pleaſed, and laughed at the ſtrange turn things had taken ; but upon recollection, it gave them great uneaſineſs to think that the oſtraciſm was diſhonored by its falling upon a perſon unworthy of it. They were perſuaded there was a dignity in that puniſhment ; or rather, that to ſuch men as Thucydides and Ariſtides it was a puniſhment ; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honor which he might be proud of, ſince his profligacy had put him on the ſame liſt with the greateſt patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus ſpeaks of him : " No doubt, his crimes deſerved chaſtiſement, but a very " different chaſtiſement from that which he received. " The ſhell was not deſigned for ſuch wretches as he."

In fact, no one afterwards was baniſhed by it. He was the laſt, and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the firſt. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of fortune, how incomprehenſible

to human reaſon. Had Nicias run the riſk of the oſtraciſm, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterwards in his native city in full ſecurity; or if it had been carried againſt him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending ſtroke of miſery, and preſerved the reputation of a wiſe and experienced general. I am not ignorant, that Theophraſtus ſays, Hyperbolus was baniſhed in the conteſt between Phæax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias. But moſt hiſtorians give it as above related.

About this time the Ægeſteans and Leontines ſent an embaſſy, to deſire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias oppoſed it, but was overruled by the addreſs and ambition of Alcibiades. Indeed, Alcibiades had previouſly gained the aſſembly by his diſcourſes, and corrupted the people to ſuch a degree with vain hopes, that the young men in their places of exerciſe, and the old men in their ſhops and other places where they converſed, drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of its ſeas, with all its ports and bearings on the ſide next Africa. For they did not conſider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms; from whence they were to go upon the conqueſt of Carthage, nay, of all Africa, and to make themſelves maſters of the ſeas within the Pillars of Hercules.

While they were ſo intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his ſide, either among the commons or nobility to oppoſe it. For the rich, fearing it might be thought they were afraid to ſerve in perſon, or to be at the expenſe of fitting out men of war, ſat ſilent, contrary to their better judgment. Nicias, however oppoſed it indefatigably, nor did he give up his point after the decree was paſſed for the war, and he was elected general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, and his name firſt in the ſuffrages. In the firſt aſſembly that was held after that, he roſe to diſſuade them, and to proteſt againſt their proceedings. In concluſion, he attacked Alcibiades, for plunging the ſtate in a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and fame. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprize; and that nothing could contribute more to its ſucceſs, than to unite his caution with the fiery ſpirit of Alcibiades, and

the boldneſs of Lamachus.* Therefore, they were ſtill more confirmed in their choice. Beſides, Demoſtratus, who of all the orators took moſt pains to encourage the people to that war, roſe and ſaid, he would ſoon cut of all the excuſes of Nicias; and immediately he propoſed and carried an order, that the generals ſhould have a diſcretionary power to lay plans, and put them in execution both at home and abroad.

It is ſaid indeed, that the prieſts ſtrongly oppoſed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners to ſet againſt them; and he gave it out, that certain ancient oracles promiſed the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys too, who were ſent to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an anſwer, importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracuſans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad preſages, they took care to conceal them, leſt they ſhould ſeem to pronounce any thing inauſpicious of an enterprize which their countrymen had too much at heart. Nor would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved at the moſt clear and obvious ſigns. Such was the mutilation of the *Hermæ*,† whoſe heads were all ſtruck off in one night, except that which was called the Mercury of Andocides, and which had been conſecrated by the tribe of Egeis, before the door of the perſon juſt named. Such alſo was the pollution of the altar of the twelve gods. A man got aſtride upon it, and there emaſculated himſelf with a ſtone. The temple of Delphi there was a golden ſtatue of Pallas, which the Athenians had erected upon a palm

* In the original it is *την Λαμαχε πραοτητα*, *the mildneſs of Lamachus*. But it is plain, that ſome quality of Lamachus ſhould be here mentioned, which wanted to be qualified with the caution of Nicias; and mildneſs could not be that quality. A paſſage in the life of Alcibiades will help us to rectify the error in the text. Plutarch there ſpeaking of Lamachus, ſays, *Λαμαχος ἡλικια πρειχων, ὁμως ; εδακει μηδεν ἡττον ειναι τε Αλκιβιαδε διαπυρος και φιλοκινδυνος εν ενιοις αγαξι.*

"Though Lamachus was the older man than Alcibiades, yet "on ſome occaſions he had as much fire as he, and a courage "bordering on temerity." The word, therefore, inſtead of *πραοτητα*, ſhould probably be *θρασυτητα*.

† Theſe *Hermæ*, or ſtatues of Mercury, were ſquare figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples and the doors of their houſes.

tree of braſs, in commemoration of the victory over the Medes. The crows came and beaked it for ſeveral days, and pecked off the golden fruit of the tree.

The Athenians, however, ſaid, theſe were only fictions propagated at Delphi, at the inſtigation of the Syracuſans. A certain oracle ordered them to fetch a prieſteſs of Minerva from Clazomenæ; and when ſhe came, they found her name was *Heſychia*, by which the deity ſeemed to exhort them to continue in quiet. Meton, the aſtrologer, whether he was ſtruck with theſe ſigns, or whether by the eye of human reaſon, he diſcovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army) feigned himſelf mad, and ſet fire to his houſe. Others ſay, he uſed no pretence of madneſs, but having burnt down his houſe in the night, addreſſed himſelf next morning to the aſſembly, in a forlorn condition, and deſired the citizens, in compaſſion for his misfortune, to excuſe his ſon, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The genius of Socrates,* on this occaſion, warned that wiſe man by the uſual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to ſeveral of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was commonly talked of. Many were likewiſe greatly diſcouraged on account of the time when the fleet happened to be ſent out. The women were then celebrating the feaſts of Adonis, during which there were to be ſeen in every quarter of the city images of the dead and funeral proceſſions; the women accompanying them with diſmal lamentations. So that thoſe who took any account of omens, were full of concern for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think, that an armament fitted at ſo vaſt an expenſe, and which made ſo glorious an appearance, would ſoon loſe its conſequence.

As for Nicias, he ſhowed himſelf a wiſe and worthy man, in oppoſing the expedition while it was under conſideration; and in not ſuffering himſelf, after it was reſolved upon, to be dazzled by vain hopes, or by the eminence of his poſt, ſo as to depart from his opinion. Nevertheleſs, when he could neither divert the people from their purpoſe, nor by all his efforts get himſelf excuſed from taking the command, but was placed, as it were,

* In Theag.

by violence at the head of a great army; it was then no time for caution and timid delay. He ſhould not then have looked back from his ſhip like a child; nor, by a multitude of proteſtations that his better counſels were overruled, have diſheartened his colleagues, and abated the ardor of his troops, which alone could give him a chance for ſucceſs. He ſhould have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmoſt vigor, and made fortune bluſh at the calamities ſhe was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When Lamachus propoſed to make a deſcent cloſe by Syracuſe,* and to give battle under the walls; and Alcibiades was of opinion, they ſhould firſt reduce the cities that owned the authority of Syracuſe, and then march againſt the principal enemy; Nicias oppoſed both. He gave it for coaſting along Sicily, without any act of hoſtility, and ſhowing what an armament they had. Then he was for returning to Athens, after having left a ſmall reinforcement with the Ægeſteans, as a taſte of the Athenian ſtrength. Thus he intercepted all their ſchemes, and broke down their ſpirits.

The Athenians, ſoon after this, called Alcibiades home to take his trial; and Nicias remained, joined indeed with another in commiſſion, but firſt in authority. There was now no end to his delays. He either made an idle parade of ſailing along the coaſt, or elſe ſat ſtill deliberating, until the ſpirit of confidence which buoyed up his own troops, was evaporated and gone, as well as the conſternation with which the enemy was ſeized at the firſt ſight of his armament.

It is true, before the departure of Alcibiades, they had ſailed towards Syracuſe with ſixty galleys, fifty of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbor; the other ten they ſent in to reconnoitre the place. Theſe advanced to the foot of the walls, and, by proclamation, invited the Leontines to return to their old habitations.† At the ſame time they happened to take one of the ene-

* Vid. *Thucyd.* l. vi.

† They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to reſtore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance between them. In conſequence of which, ſuch of the Leontines as were in Syracuſe, had nothing to do but to repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them.

my's veſſels, with the regiſters on board, in which all the Syracuſans were ſet down according to their tribes. They uſed to be kept at ſome diſtance from the city, in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but were then ſent for to be examined, in order to the forming a liſt of perſons able to bear arms. When theſe regiſters were brought to the Athenian generals, and ſuch a prodigious number of names was diſplayed, the diviners were greatly concerned at the accident; thinking the prophecy, that the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans, might poſſibly in this have its entire accompliſhment. It is aſſerted, however, that it had its accompliſhment on another occaſion, when Callippus, the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe.

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a ſmall retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus, indeed, was a man of great courage and honor, and he freely expoſed his perſon in time of action; but his circumſtances were ſo mean, that whenever he gave in his accounts of a campaign, he charged a ſmall ſum for clothes and ſandals. Nicias, on the contrary, beſide his other advantages, derived great authority from his eminence, both as to wealth and name. We are told, that on another occaſion, when the Athenian generals met in a council of war, Nicias deſired Sophocles the poet to give his opinion firſt, becauſe he was the oldeſt man. "It is "true," ſaid Sophocles, "I am older in reſpect of years; "but you are older in reſpect of ſervice." In the ſame manner he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general; and his proceedings were forever timid and dilatory. At firſt he made the circuit of the iſland with his ſhips at a great diſtance from the enemy; which ſerved only to raiſe their ſpirits. His firſt operation was to lay ſiege to the little town of Hybla; and not ſucceeding in that affair, he expoſed himſelf to the utmoſt contempt. Afterwards he retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hycara, a ſmall place ſubject to the barbarians. Lais, the courtezan, who was then a girl, is ſaid to have been ſold among the priſoners, and carried from thence to Peloponneſus.

Towards the end of the ſummer, he was informed, the Syracuſans were come to that degree of confidence, that

they deſigned to attack him. Nay, ſome of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and aſked his troops, in great deriſion, "Whether they were not rather come to ſettle in "Catana themſelves, than to ſettle the Leóntines in their "old habitations?"

Nicias now, at laſt, with much difficulty, determined to ſail for Syracuſe. In order to land his forces, and encamp them without running any riſk, he ſent a perſon of Catana before him, who, under pretence of being a deſerter, ſhould tell the Syracuſans, that if they wanted to ſurprize the enemy's camp in a defenceleſs ſtate, and make themſelves maſters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing to do but to march to Catana, with all their forces on a day that he mentioned. For the Athenians, he ſaid, paſſed the greateſt part of their time within the walls; and ſuch of the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracuſans had determined, upon their approach, to ſhut in the enemy, and to burn their fleet. At the ſame time, he aſſured them their partiſans were very numerous, and waited with impatience for their arrival.*

This was the beſt act of generalſhip Nicias performed in Sicily. Having drawn, by this means, the enemy's forces out of Syracuſe, ſo that it was left almoſt without defence, he ſailed thither from Catana, made himſelf maſter of their ports, and encamped in a ſituation where the enemy could leaſt annoy him by that in which their chief ſtrength conſiſted, and where he could eaſily exert the ſtrength in which he was ſuperior.

The Syracuſans, at their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not, however, loſe any great number of men, becauſe their cavalry ſtopped the Athenians in the purſuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges that were upon the river, he gave Hermocrates opportunity to encourage the Syracuſans, by obſerving, "That it was ridiculous in Nicias to contrive means to "prevent fighting; as if fighting was not the buſineſs "he came about." Their conſternation, indeed, was ſo great, that, inſtead of the fifteen generals they had, they

* Nicias knew he could not make a deſcent from his ſhips near Syracuſe, becauſe the inhabitants were prepared for him; nor could he go by land, for want of cavalry.

Nicias now remained ſole commander, but he had reaſon to form the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. The cities declared for him, and ſhips laden with proviſions came daily to his camp; his affairs being in ſo good a train that the Sicilians ſtrove which ſhould firſt expreſs their attachment. The Syracuſans themſelves, deſpairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of propoſals for an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their ſuccor, being informed of the wall with which they were encloſed, and the extremities they were reduced to, continued his voyage, not with a view to Sicily, which he gave up for loſt, but, if poſſible, to ſave the Greek cities in Italy. For the renown of the Athenians was now very extenſive; it was reported that they carried all before them, and that they had a general whoſe prudence, as well as good fortune, rendered him invincible. Nicias himſelf, contrary to his nature, was ſuddenly elated by his preſent ſtrength and ſucceſs; the more ſo, becauſe he was perſuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuſe, as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it was that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming aſhore; ſo that, ſcreened by this utter negligence, Gylippus landed with ſafety. It was at a great diſtance from Syracuſe, and he found means to collect a conſiderable army. But the Syracuſans were ſo far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had aſſembled that very day to conſider of articles of capitulation; nay, ſome were for coming to terms that moment, before the city was abſolutely encloſed. For there was but a ſmall part of the wall unfiniſhed, and all the neceſſary materials were upon the ſpot.

At this critical and dangerous inſtant Gongylus arrived from Corinth, with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town was in motion, as might naturally be expected. He told them, Gylippus would ſoon come, with ſeveral other ſhips to their ſuccor. They could not give entire credit to Gongylus; but while they were weighing the matter a meſſenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they ſhould march out to join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their ſpirits, and armed. Gylippus ſoon arrived, and put his troops in order of battle.

As Nicias was drawing up againſt him, Gylippus reſted his arms, and ſent a herald with an offer of ſafe conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any anſwer. But ſome of the ſoldiers aſked him by way of ridicule, "Whether the Syracuſans were become ſo ſtrong by the arrival of one Lacedæmonian cloak and ſtaff, as to deſpiſe the Athenians who had lately knocked off the fetters of three hundred Spartans, and releaſed them, though all abler men, and better haired than Gylippus?"

Timæus ſays, the Sicilians ſet no great value upon Gylippus. For in a little time they diſcovered his ſordid avarice and meanneſs; and, at his firſt appearance, they laughed at his cloak and head of hair. Yet the ſame hiſtorian relates, that as ſoon as Gylippus ſhowed himſelf, the Sicilians gathered about him, as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he pleaſed. And the latter account has more truth in it than the former. In the ſtaff and cloak they beheld the ſymbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides alſo tells us, that Gylippus was the only man who ſaved Sicily; and Philiſtus, a citizen of Syracuſe, and an eye witneſs of thoſe tranſactions, does the ſame.

In the firſt engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed ſome of the Syracuſans. Gongylus of Corinth fell at the ſame time. But the next day, Gylippus ſhowed them of what conſequence experience in a general is; with the very ſame arms and horſes, and on the ſame ſpot, by only altering his order of battle,* he beat the Athenians, and drove them to their camp. Then taking the ſtones and other materials which they had brought for their wall, he continued the croſs wall of the Syracuſans, and cut through theirs in ſuch a manner, that if they gained a victory, they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the Syracuſans manned ſeveral veſſels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, they made many priſoners. Gylippus

* He had the addreſs to impute the late defeat to himſelf, and to aſſure his men that their behavior was irreproachable. He ſaid, that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering.

applied to the towns in perſon, and they readily liſtened to him, and lent him all the aſſiſtance in their power. So that Nicias, relapſing into his former fears and deſpondence; at the ſight of ſuch a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter, either to ſend another army, or to recal that which he had; and at the ſame time he deſired them by all means to diſmiſs him from the command, on account of his infirmities.

The Athenians had deſigned ſome time before to ſend another army into Sicily; but the envy which the firſt ſucceſs of Nicias had excited, had made them put it off upon ſeveral pretences. Now, however, they haſtened the ſuccors. They likewiſe came to a reſolution, that Demoſthenes ſhould go in the ſpring with a reſpectable fleet; and that Eurymedon,* without waiting till winter was over, ſhould carry money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had pitched upon Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then ſerved under him, to aſſiſt him in his charge.

Meantime, Nicias was ſuddenly attacked both by ſea and land. At firſt, part of his fleet was worſted; but in the end he proved victorious, and ſunk many of the enemy's ſhips. He could not, however, ſuccor his troops by land, as the exigence of the caſe required. Gylippus made a ſudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium, and took it; by which means he became maſter of the naval ſtores of the Athenians, and a great quantity of treaſure, which had been lodged there. Moſt of the garriſon were either killed or taken priſoners. But, what was ſtill a greater blow to Nicias, by the loſs of this place he loſt the convenience of his convoys. For, while he had Plemmyrium, the communication was ſafe and eaſy; but when that was taken, his ſupplies could not reach him without the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe his tranſports could not paſs without fighting the enemy's ſhips which lay at anchor under the fort.

Beſides, the Syracuſans thought their fleet was beaten, not by any ſuperior ſtrength they had to combat, but by their going in a diſorderly manner upon the purſuit. They therefore fitted out a more reſpectable fleet, in order for another action. Nicias, however, did not chooſe at preſ-

* Eurymedon went with ten galleys.

ent, to try the iſſue of another naval fight, but declared it very abſurd, when a large reinforcement of ſhips and freſh troops were haſtening to him under the conduct of Demoſthenes, to hazard a battle with a force ſo much inferior, and ſo ill provided.

On the other hand, Menander and Euthydemus, who were appointed to a temporary ſhare in the command, were led by their ambition and jealouſy of Demoſthenes and Nicias, to ſtrike ſome extraordinary ſtroke, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the moſt ſhining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which they ſaid would be utterly loſt, if they ſhewed any fear of the Syracuſan fleet. Thus they overruled Nicias and gave battle. But they were ſoon defeated by a ſtratagem of Ariſton the Corinthian, who was a moſt excellent ſeaman.* Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they loſt great numbers of their men. This loſs threw Nicias into the greateſt conſternation. He reflected upon the checks he had met with while he had the ſole command, and that he had now miſcarried again through the obſtinacy of his colleagues.

While he was indulging theſe reflections, Demoſthenes appeared before the port with a very gallant and formidable fleet. He had ſeventythree galleys,† on board of which were five thouſand heavyarmed ſoldiers, and archers, ſpearmen and ſlingers, to the number of three thouſand. Their armor glittered, the ſtreamers waved, and the prows of their ſhips were adorned with a variety of rich paintings. He advanced with loud cheers and martial muſic, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, to ſtrike terror into the enemy.

The Syracuſans were ready to fall into deſpair again. They ſaw no end or truce to their miſeries; their labors and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpoſe. Nicias, however,

* Ariſton adviſed the captains of the galleys to have refreſhments ready for their men on the ſhore, while the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed and went to dinner likewiſe. In the mean time the Syracuſians, having made an expeditious meal, reembarked, and attacked the Athenian ſhips when there was ſcarce any body to defend them.

† Diodorus Siculus makes them three hundred and ten.

had not long to rejoice at the arrival of such an army. At the first interview, Demosthenes wanted him to attack the enemy, that they might take Syracuse by an immediate and decisive stroke, and return again with glory to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his heat and precipitation, desired him to adopt no rash or desperate measures. He assured him, delay would make against the enemy, since they were already in want of money, and their allies would soon quit both them and their cause. Consequently, when they began to feel the hard hand of necessity, they would apply to him again, and surrender upon terms, as they were going to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private understanding with several persons in Syracuse, who advised him to wait with patience, because the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and when their necessities should become a little more pressing, they would give up the dispute.

As Nicias mentioned these things in an enigmatical manner, and did not choose to speak out, it gave occasion to the other generals to accuse him of timidity. "He "is coming upon us," said they, "with his old de- "lays, dilatory, slow, overcautious counsels, by which "the vigor and ardor of his troops was lost. When "he should have led them on immediately, he waited till "their spirit was gone, and the enemy began to look "upon them with contempt." The other officers, therefore, listened to Demosthenes, and Nicias at last was forced to give up the point.

Upon this, Demosthenes put himself at the head of the land forces, and attacked Epipolæ in the night. As he came upon the guards by surprise, he killed many of them, and routed those who stood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter where the Bœotians were posted. These closed their ranks, and first charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled pikes, and with all the alarm of voices; by which means they repulsed them, and killed a considerable number. Terror and confusion spread through the rest of the army. They who still kept their ground, and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled; and they who were marching down from Epipolæ to support the foremost bands, were put in disorder by the fugitives; for they fell foul of one another, and took their

friends for enemies. The confuſion, indeed, was inexpreſſible, occaſioned by their fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impoſſibility of diſcerning objects as they could have wiſhed in a night which was neither quite dark nor ſufficiently clear; the moon being near her ſetting, and the little light ſhe gave rendered uſeleſs by her ſhade of ſo many bodies and weapons moving to and fro. Hence the apprehenſions of meeting with an enemy, made the Athenians ſuſpect their friends, and threw them into the utmoſt perplexity and diſtreſs. They happened, too, to have the moon upon their backs, which caſting their ſhadows before them, both hid the number of their men and the glittering of their arms; whereas the reflection from the ſhields of the enemy made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. At laſt they turned their backs, and were entirely routed. The enemy preſſed hard upon them on all ſides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death in the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell headlong from the rocks or walls. The reſt were diſperſed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry, and put to the ſword. The Athenians loſt two thouſand men in this action; and very few returned with their arms to the head-quarters.

This was a ſevere blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected; and he inveighed againſt the raſh proceedings of Demoſthenes. That general defended himſelf as well as he could, but at the ſame time gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould embark and return home as faſt as poſſible. "We cannot hope," ſaid he, "either for another army, or to conquer with the forces we have. "Nay, ſuppoſing we had the advantage, we ought to "relinquiſh a ſituation, which is well known at all times "to be unhealthy for the troops, and which now we find "ſtill more fatal from the ſeaſon of the year." It was, indeed, the beginning of autumn; numbers were ſick, and the whole army was diſpirited.

Nevertheleſs, Nicias could not bear to hear of returning home; not that he was afraid of any oppoſition from the Syracuſans, but he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments there. He therefore replied, "That "there was no great and viſible danger at preſent; and,

" if there were, he had rather die by the hands of the " enemy, than thoſe of his fellowcitizens." In this reſpect, he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterwards ſaid to his countrymen, " I had rather die for " you, than with you." Nicias added, " That if it " ſhould appear neceſſary to encamp in another place, " they might conſider of it at their leiſure."

Demoſthenes urged the matter no farther, becauſe his former counſels had proved unfortunate. And he was more willing to ſubmit, becauſe he ſaw others, perſuaded that it was the dependence Nicias had on his correſpondence in the town, which made him ſo ſtrongly oppoſe their return to Athens. But as freſh forces came to the aſſiſtance of the Syracuſans, and the ſickneſs prevailed more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himſelf altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Every thing accordingly was prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to theſe movements, becauſe they did not expect them. But in the night there happened an eclipſe of the moon, at which Nicias and all the reſt were ſtruck with a great panic, either through ignorance or ſuperſtition. As for an eclipſe of the ſun, which happens at the conjunction, even the common people had ſome idea of its being cauſed by the interpoſition of the moon. But they could not eaſily form a conception by the interpoſition of what body, the moon, when at the full, ſhould ſuddenly loſe her light, and aſſume ſuch a variety of colors. They looked upon it therefore as a ſtrange and preternatural phenomenon, a ſign by which the gods announced ſome great calamity.

Anaxagorus was the firſt who with any clearneſs and certainty ſhowed in what manner the moon was illuminated and overſhadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity,* nor was his treatiſe much known; it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution and under the ſeal of ſecrecy. For the people had an averſion to natural philoſophers and thoſe who were then

* He was cotemporary with Pericles, and with Nicias too; for he died the firſt year of the eightyeighth Olympiad, and Nicias was killed the fourth year of the ninetyfirſt.

called *Meteorolaſchæ*. [*inquirers into the nature of meteors*] ſuppoſing that they injured the Divine Power and Providence by aſcribing things to inſenſate cauſes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable neceſſity. Protagorus was forced to fly on account of ſuch a ſyſtem; and Anaxagorus was thrown into priſon, from whence Pericles with great difficulty got him delivered. Even Socrates,* who meddled not with phyſics, loſt his life for philoſophy. At laſt the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received, both on account of his life, and his ſubjecting the neceſſity of natural cauſes to a more powerful and divine principle. Thus he removed all ſuſpicion of impiety from ſuch reſearches, and brought the ſtudy of mathematics into faſhion. Hence it was, that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipſed at the time of his going from Zacynthus againſt Dionyſius, was not in the leaſt diſconcerted, but purſued his voyage, and expelled the tyrant.

It was a great unhappineſs to Nicias, that he had not then with him an able diviner. Stilbides, whom he employed on ſuch occaſions, and who uſed to leſſen the influence of his ſuperſtition, died a little before. Suppoſing the eclipſe a prodigy, it could not, as Philochorus obſerves, be inauſpicious to thoſe who wanted to fly, but on the contrary very favorable. For whatever is tranſacted with fear, ſeeks the ſhades of darkneſs; light is the worſt enemy. Beſides, on other occaſions, as Auticlides† remarks in his Commentaries, there were only three days that people refrained from buſineſs after an eclipſe of either ſun or moon; whereas Nicias wanted to ſtay another revolution of the moon, as if he could not ſee her as bright as ever, the moment ſhe paſſed the ſhadow cauſed by the interpoſition of the earth.

He quitted, however, almoſt every other care, and ſat ſtill obſerving his ſacrifices, till the enemy came upon him, and inveſted his walls and intrenchments with their

* Socrates tells us, in his Apology, that he had been accuſed of a criminal curioſity in prying into the heavens and into the abyſſes of the earth. However, he could not be ſaid to loſe his life for his philoſophy ſo much as for his theology.

† This ſhould probably be read Anticlides; for he ſeems to be the ſame perſon whom Plutarch has mentioned in the life of Alexander, and in his Iſis and Oſiris.

land forces, as well as circled the harbor with their fleet. Not only the men from their ſhips, but the very boys from their fiſhing boats and ſmall barks, challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of inſult. One of theſe boys, named Heraclides, who was of one of the beſt families in Syracuſe, advancing too far, was purſued by an Athenian veſſel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus ſeeing his danger, made up with ten galleys which were under his command; and others, in fear for Pollichus, advanced to ſupport him. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the Syracuſans were victorious, and Eurymedon and numbers more were killed.

The Athenians not brooking any farther delay, with great indignation called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracuſans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbor. Nicias, however, would not agree to it, thinking it a cruel thing to abandon ſo many ſhips of burden and near two hundred galleys. He therefore embarked his beſt infantry, and a ſelect number of archers and ſpearmen, and manned with them a hundred and ten galleys; as far as his rowers would ſupply him. The reſt of his troops he drew up on the ſhore, abandoning his great camp and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracuſans had not for a long time offered the uſual ſacrifices to that deity, but now both the prieſts and generals went to obſerve the ſolemnity.

Their troops were embarked; and the inſpectors of the entrails promiſed the Syracuſans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force. For Hercules, they ſaid, was victorious only in ſtanding upon the defenſive, and waiting to be attacked. Thus inſtructed, the Syracuſans ſet out.

Then the great ſeafight began; remarkable not only for the vigor that was exerted, but for its cauſing as great a variety of paſſion and agitation in the ſpectators as in the combatants themſelves. For thoſe who looked on from the ſhore, could diſcern every different and unexpected turn it took. The Athenians ſuffered not more harm from the enemy, than they did from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament. Their ſhips were all crowded together, and were heavy and un-

wieldy befides, while thofe of the enemy were fo light and nimble, that they could eafily change their fituation, and attack the Athenians on all fides. Add to this, that the Syracufans were provided with a vaft quantity of ftones, which feldom failed of their effect, wherever difcharged; and the Athenians had nothing to oppofe to them but darts and arrows, the flight of which was fo diverted by the motion of the fhip, that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was put upon this expedition by Ariſton the Corinthian, who, after he had given great proofs of his courage and ability, fell the moment that victory was declared for the Syracufans.

After this dreadful defeat and lofs, there was no poffibility of efcaping by fea. At the fame time the Athenians faw it was extremely difficult to fave themfelves by land. In this defpair, they neither oppofed the enemy, who were feizing their veffels clofe to the fhore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it not fo deplorable a circumftance to leave the dead without burial, as to abandon the ſick and wounded. And though they had great miſeries before their eyes, they looked upon their own caſe as ſtill more unhappy, ſince they had many calamities to undergo, and were to meet the ſame fate at laſt.

They did, however, deſign to begin their march in the night. Gylippus ſaw the Syracuſans employed in ſacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory, and the feaſt of Hercules; and he knew that neither entreaty nor force would prevail with them to leave the joys of feſtivity, and oppoſe the enemy's flight. But Hermocrates* found out a method to impoſe upon Nicias. He ſent perſons in whom he could confide, who were to pretend they came from the old correſpondents of that general within the town; and that their buſineſs was to deſire him not to march in the night, becauſe the Syracuſans had laid ſeveral ambuſhes for him, and ſeized all the paſſes. The ſtratagem had its effect. Nicias ſat ſtill, in the ſimplicity of his heart, fearing he ſhould really fall into the enemy's

* Hermocrates was ſenſible of what importance it was to prevent Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of forty thouſand men which he had ſtill left, he might have fortified himſelf in ſome part of Sicily, and renewed the war.

ſnares. In the morning the enemy got out before him. Then indeed they did ſeize all the difficult paſſes; they threw up works againſt the fords, broke down the bridges, and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even; ſo that the Athenians could not move one ſtep without fighting.

Theſe poor men lay cloſe all that day and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations; as if they had been going to quit their native country, not that of the enemy. They were, indeed, in great want of proviſions, and it was a miſerable circumſtance to leave their ſick and wounded friends and comrades behind them; yet they looked upon their preſent misfortunes as ſmall in compariſon of thoſe they had to expect.

But, among the various ſpectacles of miſery, there was not one more pitiable than Nicias himſelf; oppreſſed as he was with ſickneſs, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a ſcanty proviſion, when his infirmities required a liberal ſupply. Yet, in ſpite of his ill health, he acted and endured many things which the more robuſt underwent not without difficulty. All this while his troops could not but obſerve, it was not for his own ſake, or any attachment to life, that he ſubmitted to ſuch labors, but that he ſeemed ſtill to cheriſh hope on their account. When ſorrow and fear brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever dropt a tear among the reſt, it was plain he did it from a reflection on the miſerable and diſgraceful iſſue of the war, which he hoped to have finiſhed with great honor and ſucceſs. Nor was it only the ſight of his preſent miſery that moved them, but when they recollected the ſpeeches and warnings by which he endeavored to diſſuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deſerved. All their hopes, too, of aſſiſtance from heaven abandoned them, when they obſerved that ſo religious a man as Nicias, one who had thought no expenſe too great in the ſervice of the gods, had no better fortune than the meaneſt and moſt profligate perſon in the army.

Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, he ſtill endeavored by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and every expreſſion of kindneſs to the ſoldiers, to ſhow himſelf ſuperior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of

eight days, though attacked and harraſſed all the way by the enemy, he preſerved his own diviſion of the army tolerably entire, till Demoſthenes was taken priſoner, and the troops he had the conduct of, were ſurrounded, after a brave reſiſtance, at a ſmall place, called Polyzelium. Demoſthenes then drew his ſword and ſtabbed himſelf, but as the enemy came immediately upon him and ſeized him, he had not time to give himſelf the finiſhing ſtroke.

Some Syracuſans rode up to Nicias with this news, and he ſent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding, from their account, that Demoſthenes and his party were really priſoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hoſtages for paying the Syracuſans the whole charge of the war, on condition they would ſuffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. The Syracuſans rejected the propoſal with every mark of inſolence and outrage, and fell upon a wretched man, who was in want of all manner of neceſſaries.*

He defended himſelf, however, all that night, and continued his march the next day to the river Aſinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and, when they came to the banks of the river, puſhed them in. Nay, ſome impatient to quench their burning thirſt, voluntarily plunged into the ſtream. Then followed a moſt cruel ſcene of blood and ſlaughter; the poor wretches being maſſacred as they were drinking. At laſt Nicias threw himſelf at the feet of Gylippus, and ſaid, "Gylippus, "you ſhould ſhow ſome compaſſion amidſt your victory. "I aſk nothing for myſelf. What is life to a man, whoſe "misfortunes are even proverbial? But with reſpect to "the other Athenians, methinks, you ſhould remember "that the chance of war is uncertain, and with what hu"manity and moderation they treated you, when they "were victorious."

Gylippus was ſomewhat affected both at the ſight of Nicias, and at his ſpeech. He knew the good offices he had done the Lacedæmonians at the laſt treaty of peace; and he was ſenſible it would contribute greatly to his honor, if he could take two of the enemy's generals

* But were theſe brave people to blame? Was it not natural for them to uſe every means in their power to haraſs and weaken an enemy, who had ambitiouſly conſidered their country as a property?

prisoners. Therefore, raising Nicias from the ground he bade him take courage, and gave orders that the other Athenians should have quarter. But as the order was slowly communicated, the number of those that were saved were greatly inferior to that of the slain; though the soldiers spared several, unknown to their officers.

When the Syracusans had collected all the prisoners they could find into one body, they dressed some of the tallest and straightest trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms they had taken from the enemy. After which they marched homeward with garlands on their heads, and with their horses adorned in the most splendid manner; having first shorn those of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city, as it were in triumph, after the happy termination of the sharpest dispute that ever subsisted between Grecians, and one of the most complete victories the sun ever beheld, gained by a glorious and persevering exertion of firmness and valor.

A general assembly of the people of Syracuse and of its allies was then held, in which Eurycles* the orator proposed a decree, "That, in the first place, the day they "took Nicias should be observed as a festival, with the "title of *Asmaria*, from the river where that great event "took place, and that it should be entirely employed in "sacrifices to the gods." This was the twentyseventh day of the month *Carneus*, called by the Athenians *Metagitnion*.† "As to the prisoners, he proposed, that the "Athenian servants and all the allies should be sold for "slaves; that such of the Athenians as were freemen, "and the Sicilians their partisans, should be confined "to the quarries; and that the generals should be put "to death." As the Syracusans accepted the bill, Hermocrates rose up and said, "It was a more glorious "thing to make a good use of a victory, than to gain "one." But his motion raised a great ferment in the assembly. Gylippus expressing his desire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them prisoners to Lacedæmon, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with

* Diodorus Siculus calls him Diocles.

† Though it is not easy, as we have observed in a former note, to bring the Grecian months to tally with ours, yet we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or part of it; because Plutarch had said above, that the sickness had set in with autumn.

their good fortune, loaded him with reproaches. Indeed, they could not well bear his ſeverity and Lacedæmonian rigor in command, while the war laſted. Beſides, as Timæus obſerves, they had diſcovered in him an avarice and meanneſs, which was a diſeaſe he inherited from his father Cleandrides, who was baniſhed for taking of bribes. The ſon, out of the thouſand talents which Lyſander ſent by him to Sparta, purloined thirty, and hid them under the tiles of his houſe. Being detected in it, he fled his country with the utmoſt diſgrace, as we have related more at large in the life of Lyſander.

Timæus does not agree with Philiſtus and Thucydides, that Demoſthenes and Nicias were ſtoned to death by the Syracuſans. Inſtead of that, he tells us, that Hermocrates ſent one of his people to acquaint thoſe two generals with what was paſſing in the aſſembly, and the meſſenger being admitted by the guards before the court was diſmiſſed, the unhappy men diſpatched themſelves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there expoſed to the view of all thoſe who wanted to enjoy the ſpectacle. I am informed that a ſhield, ſaid to be that of Nicias, is ſhown to this day in one of the temples at Syracuſe; the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with ſurpriſing art.

As to the other Athenians, the greateſt part periſhed in the quarries to which they were confined, by diſeaſes and bad diet; for they were allowed only a pint of barley a day, and half a pint of water. Many of thoſe who were concealed by the ſoldiers, or eſcaped by paſſing as ſervants, were ſold for ſlaves, and ſtigmatized with the figure of a horſe upon their foreheads. Several of theſe, however, ſubmitted to their fate with patience; and the modeſty and decency with which they behaved were ſuch, that they were either ſoon releaſed, or treated in their ſervitude with great reſpect by their maſters.

Some there were who owed their preſervation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muſe whom the Sicilians were moſt in love with. From every ſtranger that landed in their iſland, they gleaned every ſmall ſpecimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleaſure to each other. It is ſaid that on this occaſion a number of Athenians, upon their return home, went to Euripides, and thanked him in the moſt reſpectful man-

ner for their obligations to his pen; ſome having been enfranchiſed for teaching their maſters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreſhments when they were wandering about, after the battle, for ſinging a few of his verſes. Nor is this to be wondered at, ſince they tell us, that when a ſhip from Caunus, which happened to be purſued by pirates, was going to take ſhelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at firſt refuſed to admit her; upon aſking the crew whether they knew any of the verſes of Euripides, and being anſwered in the affirmative, they received both them and their veſſel.

The Athenians, we are told, did not give credit to the firſt news of this misfortune; the perſon who brought it not appearing to deſerve their notice. It ſeems, a ſtranger who landed in the Piræus, as he ſat to be ſhaved in a barber's ſhop, ſpoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no ſooner heard it, but before the ſtranger could communicate it to any other perſon, he ran into the city, and applying to the magiſtrates, informed them of the news in open court. Trouble and diſmay ſeized all that heard it. The magiſtrates immediately ſummoned an aſſembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated, of whom he had the intelligence; and, as he could give no clear and pertinent anſwer, he was conſidered as a forger of falſe news, and a public incendiary.* In this light he was faſtened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for ſome time, till at length ſome credible perſons arrived; who gave a diſtinct account of the whole diſaſter. With ſo much difficulty did the misfortunes of Nicias find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them that they would certainly happen.

* Caſauban would infer from hence, that the Athenians had a law for puniſhing the forgers of falſe news. But this perſon was puniſhed, not ſo much as a forger of falſe news as a public incendiary, who by exciting groundleſs terrors in the people, aided and abetted their enemies.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whoſe father had borne the office of cenſor, and been honored with a triumph, was brought up in a ſmall houſe with his two brothers. Theſe married while their parents were living, and they all eat at the ſame table. This, we may ſuppoſe, contributed not a little to render him ſober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his houſe. With reſpect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when ſomewhat advanced in years, he was ſuſpected of a criminal commerce with one of the veſtal virgins, named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It ſeems the veſtal had a beautiful country houſe, which Craſſus wanting to have at an underprice, paid his court to the lady with great aſſiduity, and thence fell under that ſuſpicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the veſtal; and he never let her reſt till ſhe had ſold him her houſe.

The Romans ſay, Craſſus had only that one vice of avarice, which caſt a ſhade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, becauſe it was ſo much ſtronger and more powerful than the reſt, that it quite obſcured them. His love of money is very evident from the ſize of his eſtate, and his manner of raiſing it. At firſt it did not exceed three hundred talents. But, during his public employments, after he had conſecrated the tenth of his ſubſtance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a ſupply of bread corn to each citizen for three months, he found, upon an exact computation, that he was maſter of ſeven thouſand one hundred talents. The greateſt part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme diſgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and ſold the eſtates of thoſe whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the ſpoils of his

enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also, how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together.* In consequence of this he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about the event. Hence, in time, he became master of great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived. For he used to say, "That those who love building will soon "ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as laborers, who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these, was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, bookkeepers, stewards and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often give them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying, that no man ought to be esteemed rich, who could not with his own revenue maintain an army. For, as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour. Nor conse-

* The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood after the Gauls had burnt the city.

quently can it be determined what fortune is ſufficient for its demands. Very different in this reſpect were the ſentiments of Craſſus from thoſe of Marius. When the latter had made a diſtribution of lands among his ſoldiers at the rate of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he ſaid, "I hope no Roman will ever think "that portion of land too little, which is ſufficient to "maintain him."

It muſt be acknowledged that Craſſus behaved in a generous manner to ſtrangers; his houſe was always open to them. To which we may add, that he uſed to lend money to his friends without intereſt. Nevertheleſs, his rigor in demanding his money the very day it was due, often made his appearing favor a greater inconvenience than the paying of intereſt would have been. As to his invitations, they were moſt of them to the commonality; and though there was a ſimplicity in the proviſion, yet at the ſame time there was a neatneſs and unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expenſive tables.

As to his ſtudies, he cultivated oratory, moſt particularly that of the bar, which had its ſuperior utility. And though he might be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the firſtrate ſpeakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded thoſe whom nature had favored more. For there was not a cauſe, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Beſides, when Pompey and Cæſar and Cicero refuſed to ſpeak, he often roſe and finiſhed the argument in favor of the defendant. This attention of him to aſſiſt any unfortunate citizen, was a very popular thing. And his obliging manner in his common addreſs, had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and inſignificant, whom he did not ſalute, or whoſe ſalutation he did not return, by name.

His knowledge of hiſtory is alſo ſaid to have been extenſive, and he was not without a taſte of Ariſtotle's philoſophy. In the latter branch he was aſſiſted by a philoſopher named Alexander;* a man who gave the moſt glorious proofs of his diſintereſted and mild diſpoſition, during his acquaint-

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Mileſian, who is alſo called Polyhiſtor and Cornelius; and who is ſaid to have flouriſhed in the times of Sylla.

nce with Craſſus. For it is not eaſy to ſay, whether his poverty was greater when he entered, or when he left his houſe. He was the only friend that Craſſus would take with him in the country; on which occaſions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly if we conſider that the philoſophy he profeſſed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent.* But this was a later circumſtance in the life of Craſſus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it ſoon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and deſtruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Craſſus. Craſſus himſelf, who was then a very young man, eſcaped the preſent danger. But, as he ſaw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all ſides, he took three friends and ten ſervants with him, and fled with ſurpriſing expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his prætorſhip, and gained himſelf friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually preſent; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public; inſtead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Paciaeus had contiguous to the ſea, and hid himſelf in a ſpacious cave there. From thence he ſent one of his ſervants to ſound Vibius; for his proviſions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had eſcaped, inquired the number of people he had with him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in perſon, but ſent immediately for the ſteward of that farm, and ordered him to dreſs a ſupper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in ſilence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promiſed him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commiſſion.

* Ariſtotle's, as well as Plato's philoſophy, reckoned riches among real bleſſings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it, admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suit of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which daylight is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the stream.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be had to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought looked more like restraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid servants, and walked towards the sea. When they came to the cave he showed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus seeing them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, "That they were come "to seek their master, who lay concealed there." Upon which he perceived, it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says,* he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

* Fenestella wrote several books of annals. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was seventy years of age.

Craſſus ſpent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he ſelected a corps of two thouſand five hundred men. With theſe he viſited the cities; and moſt hiſtorians agree, that he pillaged one called Malaca. But others tell us, he abſolutely denied it, and diſclaimed the thing in the face of thoſe who ſpread the report. After this, he collected veſſels, and paſſed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raiſed conſiderable forces. He did not, however, ſtay long there. Upon ſome difference with Metellus, he applied himſelf to Sylla, who received him with pleaſure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he choſe to keep the young men he had about him in exerciſe, and ſent them upon various commiſſions. Craſſus he diſpatched to levy troops among the Marſi; and, as his paſſage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I "give thee for guards," ſaid he, in an angry tone, "I "give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy "friends, thy relations, who have been unjuſtly and "abominably ſacrificed, and whoſe cauſe I am going to "revenge upon their murderers."

Craſſus rouſed and inflamed with theſe words, paſſed boldly through the midſt of the enemy; raiſed a reſpectable army, and ſhowed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his firſt competition and diſpute with Pompey for the palm of honor. Pompey was the younger man, and had this great diſadvantage beſides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth with ſuch luſtre on theſe occaſions, that Sylla treated him with more reſpect than he generally ſhowed much older men, or even thoſe of his own rank. For he uſed to riſe up at his approach, and uncover his head, and ſalute him as *Imperator*.

Craſſus was not a little piqued at theſe things, though there was no reaſon for his pretenſions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; beſides, his innate blemiſhes, his avarice and meanneſs, robbed his actions of all their grace

and dignity. For inſtance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was ſuppoſed to have appropriated the greateſt part of the plunder to his own uſe, and was repreſented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greateſt and moſt deciſive of all, Sylla was worſted, his troops repulſed, and a number of them killed. Meantime, Craſſus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and having purſued the enemy till night, ſent to inform Sylla of his ſucceſs, and to demand refreſhments for his men.

But in the time of the proſcriptions and confiſcations, he loſt all the credit he had gained; buying great eſtates at an underprice, and often begging ſuch as he had caſt his eye upon. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is ſaid to have proſcribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to ſeize his fortune. Upon this Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Craſſus was an exquiſite flatterer himſelf, yet no man was more eaſily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the moſt covetous men in the world, no man was more averſe to, or more ſevere againſt ſuch that reſembled him.* But it gave him ſtill more pain to ſee Pompey ſo ſucceſsful in all his employments, to ſee him honored with a triumph, and ſaluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming;" upon which he anſwered with a ſcornful ſmile, "How big is he?"

As he deſpaired of riſing to an equality with him in war, he betook himſelf to the adminiſtration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by aſſiſting and canvaſſing for perſons who ſtood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was ſomething remarkably peculiar in their caſe. The name and intereſt of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was abſent and† diſtin-

* It was obſerved by the late ingenious Mr. Shenſtone, that a coxcomb will be the firſt to find out and expoſe a coxcomb. Men of the ſame virtues love each other for the ſake of thoſe virtues; but ſympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

† This was not peculiar to Pompey; it was the caſe of Marius, and many others.

guiſhing himſelf in the field. When preſent, Craſſus often carried his point againſt him. This muſt be imputed to the ſtate and grandeur that he affected: He ſeldom ſhowed himſelf in public, or appeared in the aſſemblies of the people; and he very rarely ſerved thoſe who made application to him; imagining by that means he ſhould have his intereſt entire when he wanted it himſelf. Craſſus, on the contrary, had his ſervices ever ready for thoſe who wanted them; he conſtantly made his appearance; he was eaſy of acceſs; his life was ſpent in buſineſs and good offices; ſo that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's diſtance and ſtate.

As to dignity of perſon, powers of perſuaſion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the ſame. But the emulation with which Craſſus was actuated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to ſee Pompey and Cæſar held in greater honor, but he did not add rancor and malevolence to his ambition; though Cæſar, when he was taken by pirates in Aſia, and ſtrictly confined, cried out, "O Craſſus, "what pleaſure will it give thee to hear that I am taken!" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendſhip; and when Cæſar was going to ſet out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to ſeize his equipage, becauſe he could not ſatisfy them, Craſſus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarraſſment, by giving ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæſar and Craſſus. For, as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and ſteady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and the enterpriſing gave into the proſpects of Cæſar; Craſſus ſteered a middle courſe, and availed himſelf of both. Craſſus, indeed, often changed ſides, and neither was a firm friend, nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or reſentments indifferently when his intereſt required it; inſomuch, that in a ſhort ſpace of time he would appear either in ſupport or oppoſition to the ſame perſons and laws. He had ſome influence founded in love, and ſome in fear; but fear was the more ſerviceable principle of the two. An inſtance of the latter we have in Licinius, who,

was very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "He wears "wisps upon his horns."* So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this: One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiator's arms to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. They then retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders.† The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of those Thracian *hordes*, called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek, than a barbarian, in his manner.

It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy.‡ This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua, whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away

* This passed into a proverb.

† Spartacus, Chrysus, and Œnomaus. This war began in the year of Rome 680; before Christ 71.

‡ His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

thoſe of gladiators, as diſhonorable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor,* was then ſent againſt them from Rome, with a body of three thouſand men; and he beſieged them on the hill where they were poſted. There was but one aſcent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a ſufficient guard. The reſt was all a craggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off ſuch of the branches as might be of moſt ſervice, and formed them into a ladder of ſufficient ſtrength, and ſo long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder, they all got down ſafe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms; and when he had done that he deſcended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them ſo ſuddenly, that they fled in great conſternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdſmen and ſhepherds of the country, men of great vigor, and remarkably ſwift of foot. Some of theſe he clad in heavy armor, and the reſt ſerved as reconnoitring parties and for other purpoſes of the light armed.

The next general ſent againſt theſe gladiators, was Publius Varinus.† They firſt routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thouſand men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Coſſinius, who was appointed aſſiſtant and chief counſellor to Varinus, and was now marching againſt him with a conſiderable force. His vigilance was ſuch, that he was very near taking Coſſinius in the bath at Salenæ; and though he did eſcape with much difficulty, Spartacus ſeized his baggage. Then he purſued his ſteps, and took his camp, having firſt killed great numbers of the Romans. Coſſinius himſelf was among the ſlain. His ſubſequent operations were equally deciſive. He beat Varinus in ſeveral engagements, and took his *lictors*, and the very horſe he rode.

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheleſs his views were moderate; he had too much underſtanding to hope the conqueſt of the Romans; and

* Clodius Glaber.

† In the different editions of Livy Ephton, it is read Varenus, Varinius, &c.

therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to croſs them, and then diſmiſs his troops, that they might retire to their reſpective countries, ſome to Thrace, and ſome to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with ſucceſs, would not liſten to his propoſal. Inſtead of that, they laid Italy waſte as they traverſed it.

It was no longer the indignity and diſgrace of this revolt that afflicted the ſenate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the conſuls in this war, as one of the moſt difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gellius, one of the conſuls, having ſurpriſed a body of Germans, who were ſo raſh and ſelfopinionated as to ſeparate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely, and put them to the ſword. Lentulus, the other conſul, endeavored to ſurround Spartacus with his forces, which were very conſiderable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and ſtripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was oppoſed by Caſſius who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came againſt him at the head of ten thouſand men. A battle enſued, in which Caſſius was defeated, with great loſs, and ſaved himſelf not without difficulty.

No ſooner were the ſenate informed of theſe miſerable proceedings, than they expreſſed the greateſt indignation againſt the conſuls, and gave orders that they ſhould be ſuperſeded in the command. Craſſus was the perſon they pitched upon as the ſucceſſor, and many of the nobility ſerved under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from perſonal regard. He went and poſted himſelf in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the ſame time he ſent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him ſtrict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or ſkirmiſh. Mummius, however, upon the firſt promiſing occaſion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Craſſus gave Mummius a ſevere reprimand, and new-armed his men, but inſiſted withal that they ſhould find ſecurity for their keeping thoſe arms they were now intruſted with. The firſt five hundred, who had ſhown the

greateſt marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whoſe lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient cuſtom of military puniſhment which had been long diſuſed. Indeed, this kind of puniſhment is the greateſt mark of infamy, and being put in execution in ſight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumſtances.

After thus chaſtiſing his men, he led them againſt the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the ſea. The rebel happening to find a number of veſſels in harbor belonging to the Cilician pirates, reſolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where at the head of two thouſand men, he thought he could eaſily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been ſmothered,* and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly, the pirates entered into agreement with him, but they had no ſooner taken his money, than they broke their engagement and ſailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the ſea, and intrenched himſelf in the peninſula of Rhegium.

When Craſſus came up, he obſerved that the nature of the place ſuggeſted what meaſures he ſhould take; in conſequence of which he determined to build a wall acroſs the Iſthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his ſoldiers from idleneſs, and cut off the enemy's ſupplies. The work was great and difficult; nevertheleſs he finiſhed it beyond all expectation, in a ſhort time, drawing a trench from ſea to ſea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth, and as many in depth; he built a wall alſo above it of conſiderable height and ſtrength.

Spartacus at firſt made a jeſt at the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he ſaw the wall before him, and at the ſame time was conſcious that the peninſula was exhauſted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a ſnowy and tempeſtuous night to fill up the trench with earth, wood and other materials, and ſo paſſed it with the third part of his army. Craſſus now began to fear, that Spartacus, in the ſpirit of enterpriſe, would march immediately to Rome. But

* It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

when he obſerved that a number of the enemy, upon ſome difference or other, ſeparated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his ſpirits. The water of this lake is ſaid to change in ſuch a manner, as ſometimes to be ſweet and freſh, and at other times ſo ſalt, that it is impoſſible to drink it. Craſſus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the purſuit far, becauſe Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Craſſus now repented of his having written to the ſenate, *that it was neceſſary to recal Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain*; and haſtened to finiſh the war himſelf. For he was ſenſible that the general who ſhould come to his aſſiſtance, would rob him of all the honor. He reſolved, therefore, in the firſt place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a ſeparate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Caſtus. With this view, he ſent a corps of ſix thouſand men before to ſeize an eminence which he thought would be of ſervice to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterpriſe with all imaginable ſecrecy. They obſerved his directions; and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the reſt of their arms. Two women, however, who were ſacrificing before the enemy's camp, diſcovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Craſſus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the moſt obſtinate action in the whole war. Twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the reſt died in their ranks, after the braveſt exertions of valor.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Craſſus's officers, and Scropha the quæſtor, marched after, to haraſs his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the moſt daſtardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæſtor who was wounded. This ſucceſs was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives ſuch ſpirits, that they would no longer decline a deciſive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addreſſed them with their ſwords in their hands, and inſiſted on marching back through Lucania

with the utmoſt expedition, to meet the Romans, and face Craſſus in the field.

This was the very thing that Craſſus deſired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching; and of the many ſpeeches to the people on occaſion of the enſuing election, in which it was aſſerted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as ſoon as he made his appearance, he would, by ſome deciſive ſtroke, put an end to the war.

Craſſus, therefore, haſtened to give that ſtroke himſelf, and, with the ſame view, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his ſoldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both ſides to ſupport the combatants; and at laſt Spartacus ſeeing what the caſe neceſſarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horſe, he drew his ſword and killed him, ſaying at the ſame time, "If I prove victorious, I ſhall "have horſes at command; if I am defeated, I ſhall have "no need of this." His aim was to find Craſſus, and he made his way through ſhowers of darts and heaps of the ſlain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At laſt, thoſe that ſeconded him fled. He, however, ſtill ſtood his ground, and though ſurrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Craſſus, on this occaſion, availed himſelf of every circumſtance with which Fortune favored him; he performed every act of generalſhip; he expoſed his perſon in the boldeſt manner; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brows of Pompey. Pompey met, it ſeems, thoſe who eſcaped out of the field, and put them to the ſword. In conſequence of which, he wrote to the ſenate, "That "Craſſus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a "pitched battle; but that it was he who had cut up the "war by the roots."*

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conqueſt of Sertorius and Spain. As for Craſſus, he did not pretend to aſk for the greater

* "Labore alieno magno partam gloriam verbis in ſe tranſmovet "qui habet ſalem." *Terren.*

triumph; and even the leſs, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, ſeemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conqueſt of fugitive ſlaves. In what reſpect this differs from the other, and whence the term *ovation* is derived, we have conſidered in the life of Marcellus.

Pompey was immediately called to the conſulſhip; and though Craſſus had intereſt enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the ſame honor, yet he ſcrupled not to ſolicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleaſure; for he was deſirous by all means to have Craſſus under an obligation to him. He, therefore, readily eſpouſed his cauſe; and, at laſt, when he made his ſpeech to the people, ſaid, "He was as much indebted "to them for the colleague they had given him, as for "their favor to himſelf." However, the ſame good underſtanding did not long continue; they differed about almoſt every article that came before them; and thoſe diſputes and altercations prevented their doing any thing conſiderable during their whole conſulſhip. The moſt remarkable thing was, that Craſſus offered a great ſacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thouſand tables, and gave them a ſupply of bread corn for three months.

When they held one of the laſt aſſemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had ſpent moſt of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the roſtrum, and gave the people an account of a viſion that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," ſaid he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to "inform you in this public manner, that you are not to "ſuffer the conſuls to lay down their office, before they "are reconciled." He had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, than the people inſiſted that they ſhould be reconciled.—Pompey ſtood without making any motion towards it, but Craſſus went and offered him his hand. "I am not "aſhamed, my fellowcitizens," ſaid he, "nor do I think "it beneath me, to make the firſt advances to Pompey, "whom you diſtinguiſhed with the name of *Great*, while "he was but a beardleſs youth, and whom you honored "with a triumph before he was a ſenator."

Theſe were the only memorable things in the conſulate of Craſſus. As for his cenſorſhip, it paſſed without any

thing worth mentioning.* He made no inquiſition into the lives and manners of the ſenators; he did not review the equeſtrian order, or number the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the beſt natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is ſaid, that when Craſſus wanted to adopt a violent and unjuſt meaſure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus ſtrongly oppoſed it; and hence aroſe that difference, in conſequence of which they reſigned their charge.

When the great conſpiracy of Catiline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of deſtruction, broke out, Craſſus was ſuſpected of having ſome concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conſpirators; but no one gave credit to his information.† It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuſes both Craſſus and Cæſar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public till both thoſe great men were dead. On the other hand, the ſame Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his conſulſhip, expreſsly ſays, that Craſſus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hands, which ſhowed the reality of the plot in which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Craſſus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero, and would have ſhown it in ſome act of violence, had not his ſon Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him;—hence his attachment to Cicero was ſo great, that when the bill for his baniſhment was propoſed, he went into mourning, and perſuaded the reſt of the Roman youth to do the ſame. At laſt, he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

* He was cenſor ſix years after his conſulſhip, ſixtythree years before the birth of Chriſt.

† Salluſt ſays otherwiſe. He tells us it did appear incredible to ſome, but others believed it. Yet not thinking it adviſable to exaſperate a man of ſo much power, they joined his retainers and thoſe who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in ſaying the ſenate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Craſſus himſelf among the reſt, the informer was ſuborned by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accuſing a man of his conſequence, unleſs it were to alarm the ſenate and people the more with a ſenſe of their danger? And what could Craſſus propoſe to himſelf in entering into a plot to burn a city in which his property was ſo large.

About this time, Cæsar returned from his government to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma, he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them. For which purpose he represented, "That, by levelling their "artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, "the Catuli, and the Catos; who would be nothing, if "they were once real friends, and took care to act in "concert. If that were the case," said he, "with your "united interests and counsels, you might carry all be-"fore you."

These representations had their effect; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had, in his being unanimously elected consul. And, as he acquitted himself in his office with great honor, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established, as in an impregnable castle. For they imagined, if they did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice, now added a new one. The achievements, the victories, and triumphs of Cæsar, raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never let himself rest, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and armies

between them. There was no way, however, to carry their ſcheme into execution, without ſuing for another conſulſhip; in which Cæſar was to aſſiſt by writing to his friends, and by ſending a number of his ſoldiers to vote in the election.

When Craſſus and Pompey returned to Rome, their deſigns were very much ſuſpected; and the general diſcourſe was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon Marcellinus and Domitius* aſked Pompey in full ſenate, "Whether he intended to ſolicit the conſulſhip?" To which he anſwered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a ſecond time, he ſaid, "If I ſolicit it I ſhall "ſolicit it for men of honor, and not for men of a meaner "principle." As this anſwer appeared to have too much of haughtineſs and contempt, Craſſus expreſſed himſelf with more moderation: "If it be for the public good, I "ſhall ſolicit it—if not, I ſhall forbear."

By this ſome other candidates, and among the reſt Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as ſoon as Craſſus and Pompey declared themſelves, the reſt dropped their pretenſions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinſman Cato, "Not to abandon his "proſpects, but to ſtand boldly up for the liberties of his "country. As for Pompey and Craſſus," he ſaid, "they "wanted not the conſulſhip, but abſolute power; nor "was it ſo much their aim to be chief magiſtrates at "home, as to ſeize the provinces, and to divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expreſſed his real ſentiments, drew Domitius almoſt forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly ſurpriſed at this ſtep of Craſſus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," ſaid they, "a ſecond conſulſhip? Why together? Why "not with others? Have we not many perſons of merit "ſufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either "Craſſus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at theſe ſpeeches, threw off the maſk, and adopted the moſt violent meaſures. Among other outrages, they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his

* Domitius Ahenobarbus.

friends; killed the torchbearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the reſt. They then ſhut them all up together, till Craſſus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to his houſe, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed ſeveral who made reſiſtance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæſar in his government for five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon caſting lots, Syria fell to Craſſus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not diſagreeable to the multitude. They choſe to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who paſſionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to ſpend moſt of his time there. As for Craſſus, as ſoon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he diſcovered the greateſt joy, and conſidered it as the principal happineſs of his life; inſomuch, that even before ſtrangers and the populace, he could hardly reſtrain his tranſports. To his intimate friends he opened himſelf more freely, expreſſing the moſt ſanguine hopes, and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unſuitable to his age and diſpoſition; for, in general, he was far from being pompous, or inclined to vanity. But now extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering proſpects, he conſidered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus againſt Tigranes, and of Pompey againſt Mithridates, appear only the ſports of children. His deſign was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the Eaſtern Ocean, and in his hopes he had already ſwallowed up the Eaſt.

In the law relating to the government of Craſſus, no mention was made of a war in its neighborhood; but all the world knew Craſſus had an eye to it. And Cæſar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his deſign, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was going to ſet out, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to ſtop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not, without indignation, think of his going to begin hoſtilities againſt a people who had done them no injury, and were in fact their allies. Craſſus, alarmed at this, deſired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him; and, on this occaſion,

though many were prepared to withſtand Craſſus, and to raiſe a clamor againſt him, yet when they ſaw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their reſentment, and made way in ſilence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the firſt place, by the authority of his office, he commanded him to ſtop, and proteſted againſt his enterpriſe. Then he ordered one of his officers to ſeize him. But the other tribunes interpoſing, the officer let Craſſus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate, and placed there a cenſer with fire in it. At the approach of Craſſus, he ſprinkled incenſe upon it, offered libations, and uttering the moſt horrid imprecations, invoking at the ſame time certain dreadful and ſtrange gods. The Romans ſay, theſe myſterious and ancient imprecations have ſuch power,* that the object of them never eſcapes their effect; nay, they add, that the perſon who uſes them, is ſure to be unhappy; ſo that they are ſeldom uſed, and never but upon a great occaſion. Ateius was much blamed for his raſh zeal. It was for his country's ſake, that he was an adverſary to Craſſus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curſe.

Craſſus, purſuing his journey, came to Brunduſium; and though the winter ſtorms made the voyage dangerous, he put to ſea, and loſt a number of veſſels in his paſſage. As ſoon as he had collected the reſt of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. There he paid his reſpects to Deiotarus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Craſſus laughed and ſaid, "You "begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and anſwered, "You do not "ſet out very early in the morning againſt the Parthians!" Craſſus, indeed, was then above ſixty years of age,† and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs proſpered at firſt according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with eaſe, and his army paſſed it without oppoſition. Many cities in Meſopotamia voluntarily received him; and one only ſtood upon its defence. The prince

* ——— Dira deteſtatio
Nulla expiatur victima. ——— *Hor.*

† Craſſus ſet out upon this expedition in the year of Rome 699.

who governed it, was named Appollonius. The Romans having loſt about a hundred men before it, Craſſus marched againſt it with all his forces, took it by aſſault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia.* Craſſus, upon taking it, ſuffered his army to ſalute him *Imperator*. A thing which reflected no ſmall diſgrace upon him; it ſhowed the meanneſs of his ſpirit, and his deſpair of effecting any thing conſiderable, when he valued himſelf upon ſuch a trifling acquiſition.

After he had garriſoned the towns that had ſubmitted, with ſeven thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his ſon, whom Cæſar had ſent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honors, and at the head of a thouſand ſelect horſe.

Among the many errors which Craſſus committed in this war, the firſt, and none of the leaſt, was his returning ſo ſoon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and ſtrengthened himſelf with the acceſſion of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians; inſtead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themſelves. Beſides, his occupations in Syria were greatly cenſured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Inſtead of examining into the arms of his ſoldiers, keeping them in exercife, and improving their ſtrength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treaſures in the temple of the goddeſs of Hierapolis.† And though he fixed the quotas of troops which the ſtates and principalities were to furniſh, he let them off again for a ſum of money; which expoſed him to the contempt of thoſe whom he excuſed.

The firſt ſign of his future fortune came from this very goddeſs, whom ſome call Venus, ſome Juno, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moiſture, and inſtructs mankind in the knowledge of

* Zenodotia, in the province of Oſrhoene.

† About twenty miles from the Euphrates, there was a city known by the ſeveral names of Bambyce, Edeſſa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddeſs Atargatis was worſhipped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richeſt in the world.

every thing that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Craſſus ſtumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter quarters, when ambaſſadors came from Arſaces, and addreſſed him in this ſhort ſpeech: "If this army was ſent againſt the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcilable. But, if Craſſus, againſt the inclinations of his country, (which they were informed was the caſe) to gratify his own avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arſaces will act with more moderation. He will take compaſſion on Craſſus's age, and let the Roman's go, though in fact he conſiders them rather as in priſon than in garriſon." To this, Craſſus made no return but a rhodomontade: He ſaid, "He would give them his anſwer at Seleucia." Upon which, Vagiſes, the oldeſt of the ambaſſadors, laughed; and turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Craſſus, here will hair grow, before thou wilt ſee Seleucia."

The ambaſſadors then returned to their king Orodes,* and told him he muſt prepare for war. Mean time, ſome Romans eſcaped with difficulty from the cities they garriſoned in Meſopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They ſaid, they had been eye-witneſſes to their immenſe numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, as it is uſual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impoſſible either to eſcape them when they purſue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and ſtrange ſort of arrows, which are ſwifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can ſee they are diſcharged; nor are they leſs fatal in their effect, than ſwift in their courſe. The offenſive arms of their cavalry pierce through every thing, and the defenſive arms are ſo well tempered that nothing can pierce them."

* Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arſaces. Arſaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the ſon of Phraates the Second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deſervedly died the ſame kind of death.

The Roman ſoldiers were ſtruck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and conſequently that the hardeſt part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of purſuing men who would never ſtand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of; inſomuch, that ſeveral of the principal officers were of opinion that Craſſus ought to ſtop, and call a council to conſider whether new meaſures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Craſſus the quæſtor. Beſides, the ſoothſayers whiſpered that the ſacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the ſigns appeared always inauſpicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but thoſe who were for haſtening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavaſdes* king of Armenia. That prince came with ſix thouſand horſe, which he ſaid were only his body guard. He promiſed Craſſus ten thouſand more, armed at all points, and thirty thouſand foot, all to be maintained at his own expenſe. At the ſame time, he adviſed him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By "that means," ſaid he, "you will not only have plenty of "proviſions, which I ſhall take care to ſupply you with; "but your march will be ſafe, as it will lie along a chain "of mountains, and a country almoſt impracticable for "cavalry, in which the Parthian ſtrength conſiſts." Craſſus received his tender of ſervice and his noble offer of ſuccors but coldly; and ſaid, "He ſhould march through "Meſopotamia, where he had left a number of brave "Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Craſſus was paſſing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful burſts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the ſame time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane, mingled with fire, which broke down and deſtroyed great part of his bridge.

* In the text he is here called Artabaſes; but, as Plutarch calls him Artavaſdes every where afterwards, we thought it proper to put it ſo here.

The place which he had marked out for a camp, was alſo twice ſtruck with lightning. One of the general's warhorſes, richly capariſoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was ſeen no more. And it is ſaid, when the foremoſt eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Beſides theſe ill tokens, it happened that when the ſoldiers had their proviſions diſtributed, after they had croſſed the river, they were firſt ſerved with lentiles and ſalt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a ſpeech of Craſſus to the army, an expreſſion eſcaped him, which ſtruck them all with horror. He ſaid, "He had broke down the bridge, that not "one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expreſſion, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obſtinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the ſacrifice offered for the luſtration of the army, the *aruſpex* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the ceremony were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment; but he only ſaid with a ſmile, "See what "it is to be old! My ſword, however, ſhall not ſlip out of "my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the ſide of the Euphrates, with ſeven legions, near four thouſand horſe, and almoſt as many of the lightarmed. He had not gone far, before ſome of his ſcouts returned, and told him, they had not found ſo much as one man in their excurſions; but that there were many veſtiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled, as if they had been purſued.

Craſſus now began to be more ſanguine in his hopes, and the ſoldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a ſuppoſition that they durſt not ſtand an encounter. Nevertheleſs, Caſſius addreſſed himſelf to the general again, and adviſed him, "To ſecure his troops in ſome fortified "town, till he ſhould have ſome account of the enemy that "might be depended upon. If he did not chooſe that, he "deſired him to keep along the river till he reached Se-"leucia. For by this means he would be conſtantly ſup-"plied with proviſions from the veſſels that would fol-"low his camp; and the river preventing his being ſur-"rounded, he would always have it in his power to fight "upon equal terms."

While Craſſus was weighing theſe counſels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes.* This artful and perfidious man was the principal inſtrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Craſſus. Some of his officers who had ſerved under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favor, and that in conſequence he paſſed for a wellwiſher to the Romans. But now gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a ſcheme to draw Craſſus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immenſe plain, where he might eaſily be ſurrounded. For the enemy thought of nothing leſs, than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian, then, addreſſing himſelf to Craſſus, at firſt launched out into the praiſes of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful ſpeaker. Then he expreſſed his admiration of ſo fine an army, but withal took occaſion to blame Craſſus for his delays, and the time he ſpent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required againſt a people, who had long been determined to retire with their moſt valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythions and Hyrcanians. "Or, ſuppoſe you have to "fight," ſaid he, "you ought to haſten to the encounter, "before the king recover his ſpirits, and collect all his "forces. At preſent he has only ſent out Surena and "Sillaces to amuſe you, and to prevent your purſuit "of himſelf. For his part, he will take care not to ap"pear in the field."

This ſtory was falſe in every circumſtance. For Orodes had divided his army into two parts; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreak his vengeance upon Artavaſdes; Surena was left with the other, to make head againſt the Romans. Not that the king (as ſome will have it) had any contempt for the Romans; for Craſſus, one of the moſt powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagoniſt whom he ſhould deſpiſe, and think it a fairer field of honor to go and fight with Artavaſdes, and lay waſte Armenia. On the contrary, it is highly probable, it was his apprehenſions of danger which made him keep at a diſtance and watch the riſing event; in

* Appian and Dion Caſſius call him Acbarus or Agbarus.

order to which he ſent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's ſtrength, and to amuſe them with his ſtratagems. For Surena was no ordinary perſon; but in fortune, family and honor, the firſt after the king; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in ſize and beauty, ſuperior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excurſion into the country, he had a thouſand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines. He was attended by a thouſand heavyarmed horſe, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vaſſals and ſlaves made up a body of cavalry, little leſs than ten thouſand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family, to put the diadem upon the king's head when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he reſtored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Selucia, being the firſt to ſcale the wall, and beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his diſcernment was ſtrong, and his counſel eſteemed the beſt. Theſe were the talents by which he overthrew Craſſus, who laid himſelf open to his arts, firſt by a too ſanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depreſſion under misfortunes.

When Craſſus had liſtened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was ſmooth and eaſy at firſt; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reaſon of the deep ſands in which he had to wade, and the ſight of a vaſt deſert without wood or water, which afforded no proſpect of repoſe, or hope of refreſhment. So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirſt and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortleſs and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor ſtream to be ſeen, no hill to ſhelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immenſe ſea of ſand ſurrounding the whole army.

Theſe things gave them ſufficient reaſon to ſuſpect they were betrayed; but when the envoys of Artavaſdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Craſſus, "That Orodes had invaded his king-"dom with a great army, ſo that now he could ſend the "Romans no ſuccors. Therefore he adviſed them to "march towards Armenia, where, with their united forc-

" es, they might give Orodes battle. If Craſſus did not " reliſh this advice, he conjured him at leaſt never to en- " camp upon any ground favorable to the cavalry, but " to keep cloſe to the mountains." Craſſus in his re- ſentment and infatuation would ſend no anſwer in writ- ing; he only ſaid, " He was not at leiſure now to think " of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and " chaſtiſe their king for his perfidiouſneſs." Caſſius was again extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonſtrances to the general, who was already of- fended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, how- ever, to the barbarian in private, in ſuch terms as theſe: " O thou vileſt of impoſtors, what malevolent demon has " brought thee amongſt us? By what portions, by what " enchantments, haſt thou prevailed upon Craſſus to pour " his army into this vaſt, this amaſing deſert; a march " more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman gen- " eral?" The barbarian who had art enough to adapt himſelf to all occaſions, humbled himſelf to Caſſius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the ſoldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them againſt their fatigues, and made uſe of ſeveral taunting expreſſions to them: "What," ſaid he, "do you imagine that you " are marching through Campania? Do you expect the " fountains, the ſtreams, the ſhades, the baths, and houſes " of refreſhment you met with there? And will you " never remember that you are traverſing the barren con- " fines of the Arabians and Aſſyrians?" Thus the traitor admoniſhed, or rather inſulted the Romans, and got off at laſt before his impoſture was diſcovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even perſuaded him then, that he was going upon ſome ſcheme to put the enemy in diſorder.

It is ſaid, that Craſſus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, ſuch as the Roman generals uſed to wear, but in a black one; and when he perceived his miſtake, he went and changed it. Some of the ſtandards too were ſo rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greateſt efforts. Craſſus only laughed at the omen, and haſtened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Mean time the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their

comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At first, agreeably to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balissus, which in itself was not considerable, but the sight of it gave great pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion, that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advance against them at break of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment, to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armor, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded

with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow inſtruments, covered with leather, and ſurrounded with braſs bells which they beat continually. The ſound is deep and diſmal, ſomething between the howling of wild beaſts and the craſhing of thunder; and it was from ſage reflection they had adopted it, having obſerved, that of all the ſenſes, that of hearing ſooneſt diſturbs the mind, agitates the paſſions, and unhinges the underſtanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noiſe, the Parthians ſuddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleam of their breaſt-plates and their helmets of Margian ſteel, poliſhed to the greateſt perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in braſs and ſteel, ſhed a luſtre no leſs ſtriking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promiſe ſuch courage as he was poſſeſſed off. For he was dreſſed in the faſhion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the reſt of the Parthians wore their hair in great diſorder, like the Scythians, to make themſelves look more terrible.

At firſt, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened their way through the foremoſt ranks; but when they ſaw the depth of the Roman battalions, the cloſeneſs of their order, and the firmneſs of their ſtanding, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and diſperſing, wheeled about and ſurrounded the Romans. At that inſtant Craſſus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far, before they were ſaluted with a ſhower of arrows, which came with ſuch force, and did ſo much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of diſorder and conſternation among the heavyarmed, when they beheld the force and ſtrength of the arrows, againſt which no armor was proof, and whoſe keenneſs nothing could reſiſt. The Parthians now ſeparated, and began to exerciſe their artillery upon the Romans on all ſides at a conſiderable diſtance; not needing to take any exact aim, by reaſon of the cloſeneſs and depth of the ſquare in which their adverſaries were drawn

up. Their bows were large and ſtrong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they went with was conſequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful ſituation. If they ſtood ſtill they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no repriſals, and yet were ſure to meet their fate. For the Parthians ſhoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, becauſe they ſave themſelves by retiring, and by fighting all the while, eſcape the diſgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would ſpend all their arrows and quit the combat, or elſe advance hand to hand, they bore their diſtreſſes with patience. But as ſoon as it was perceived, that behind the enemy, there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the firſt ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were ſupplied, Craſſus ſeeing no end to his ſufferings, was greatly diſtreſſed. The ſtep he took, was, to ſend orders to his ſon to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if poſſible, before he was quite ſurrounded; for it was principally againſt him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this the young man took thirteen hundred horſe, of which thoſe he had from Cæſar made a thouſand, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about, to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came againſt them in ſuch good order, which ſome ſay was the caſe; or whether they wanted to draw young Craſſus as far as they poſſibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled.* The young man cried out, *They dare not ſtand us*, and followed at full ſpeed. So did Cenſorinus and Megabacchus ;† the latter a man noted for

* It was their common method, not to ſtand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occaſion required, they knew the advantage they had in the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, and in the excellence of their archers.

† It is not eaſy to ſay what the Roman name Megabacchus could be the corruption of. Xylander tells us he found in an old tranſlation *Cnei, Plancus*. Probably that tranſlator might have the authority of ſome manuſcript.

his ſtrength and courage, and the former a perſon of ſenatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Craſſus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and ſuch was the alacrity and ſpirit of hope with which the infantry were inſpired, that they were not left behind; for they imagined they were only purſuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a ſtand, ſuppoſing the enemy would come to cloſe quarters with them, becauſe their numbers were but ſmall. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavyarmed cavalry oppoſite their adverſaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the ſand and duſt in ſuch a manner, that the Romans could ſcarce either ſee or ſpeak for the clouds of it. Beſides, the latter were drawn up in ſo ſmall a compaſs, and preſſed ſo cloſe upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows ſticking in them, and before they died, endeavored to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and ſinews; an effort that ſerved only to enlarge their wounds, and add to their torture.

Many died in this miſerable manner, and thoſe who ſurvived were not fit for action. When Publius* deſired them to attack the heavyarmed cavalry, they ſhowed him their hands nailed to their ſhields, and their feet faſtened to the ground, ſo that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigor to the charge. But the diſpute was by no means upon an equality, either in reſpect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and ſhort javelins to attempt the Parthian cuiraſſes, which were made either of raw hides or ſteel; while the enemy's ſtrong pikes could eaſily make an impreſſion upon the naked or lightarmed Gauls. Theſe were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he

* Young Craſſus.

worked wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them, pulled them from their horſes, and threw them on the ground, where they could ſcarce ſtir, by reaſon of the weight of their armor. Many of them even quitted their own horſes, and getting under thoſe of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which the horſes, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at laſt fell down dead upon both. What went hardeſt againſt the Gauls was heat and thurſt, for they had not been accuſtomed to either. And they had loſt moſt of their horſes by advancing furiouſly againſt the enemy's pikes.

They had now no reſource, but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Craſſus, who was much wounded. But happening to ſee a hill of ſand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horſes in the middle, they locked their ſhields together all round, imagining that would prove the beſt defence againſt the barbarians. It happened, however, quite otherwiſe. While they were upon plain ground, the foremoſt ranks afforded ſome ſhelter to thoſe behind; but upon an eminence, the unevenneſs of the ground ſhowed one above another, and thoſe behind higher than thoſe before, ſo that there was no chance for any of them to eſcape; they fell promiſcuouſly, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impoſſibility of exerting themſelves to the laſt.

Young Craſſus had with him too Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nichomachus, who had ſettled in that country in the town of Carræ. Theſe adviſed him to retire with them, and to make his eſcape to Iſchnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman intereſts, and was at no great diſtance. But he anſwered, "There was no death, "however dreadful, the fear of which could make him "leave ſo many brave men dying for his ſake." At the ſame time he deſired them to ſave themſelves, and then embraced and diſmiſſed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not uſe it, he offered his ſide to his armor bearer, and ordered him to ſtrike the blow. Cenſorinus is ſaid to have died in the ſame manner. As for Megabacchus, he deſpatched himſelf with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The reſt fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had de-

fended themſelves gallantly to the laſt. The enemy did not make above five hundred priſoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Craſſus, they marched with it to his father, whoſe affairs were in this poſture. After he had ordered his ſon to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans purſued them with equal vivacity. He perceived alſo, that on his ſide the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble; for the greateſt part of them were then gone after his ſon. Hereupon he recovered his ſpirits in ſome degree, and drew his forces back to ſome higher ground, expecting every moment his ſon's return from the purſuit.

Publius had ſent ſeveral meſſengers to inform him of his danger; but the firſt had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the laſt having eſcaped with great difficulty, told him his ſon was loſt, if he had not large and immediate ſuccors. Craſſus was ſo diſtracted by different paſſions, that he could not form any rational ſcheme. On the one hand, he was afraid of ſacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preſervation of his ſon; but at laſt he reſolved to march to his aſſiſtance.

Mean time the enemy advanced with loud ſhouts and ſongs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave the notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius upon a ſpear, demanded in the moſt contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "For," ſaid they, "it is not poſſible that ſo brave "and gallant a youth ſhould be the ſon of Craſſus, "the greateſt daſtard, and the meaneſt wretch in the "world."

This ſpectacle broke the ſpirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Inſtead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor which ran through the whole army. Nevertheleſs, Craſſus, on this melancholy occaſion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever ſhown before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loſs is mine. The fortunes and

"glory of Rome ſtand ſafe and undiminiſhed in you. "If you have any pity for me, who are bereaved of the "beſt of ſons, ſhow it in your reſentment againſt the "enemy. Put an end to their triumph; avenge their "cruelty. Be not aſtoniſhed at this loſs; they muſt al- "ways have ſomething to ſuffer, who aſpire to great "things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor "Scipio Antiochus, without ſome expenſe of blood. "Our anceſtors loſt a thouſand ſhips before they reduced "Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy; "but no previous loſs prevented their ſubduing the con- "querors. For it was not by her good fortune, but by "the perſeverance and fortitude with which ſhe combated "adverſity, that Rome has riſen to her preſent height of "power."

Craſſus, though he thus endeavored to animate his troops, did not find many to liſten to him with pleaſure. He was ſenſible their depreſſion ſtill continued, when he ordered them to ſhout for the battle; for their ſhout was feeble, languid and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and ſtrong. When the attack began, the light armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy armed charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow ſpace. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the reſolution of deſpair, but did not do much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were ſpeedily deſpatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's ſtrong pikes, which they puſhed with ſuch violence, that they often pierced through two men at once.*

The fight continued in this manner all day; and when the barbarians came to retire, they ſaid, "They would "give Craſſus one night to bewail his ſon; if he did not "in the mean time conſider better, and rather chooſe to "go and ſurrender himſelf to Arſaces, than be carried." Then they ſat down near the Roman army, and paſſed the night in great ſatisfaction, hoping to finiſh the affair the next day.

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the ſame mode of fighting at this day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of which were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themſelves in the night into that boundleſs plain. They found a great objection too, againſt retiring, in the wounded; who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Craſſus, though they believed him the cauſe of all their miſeries, they wanted him to make his appearance and ſpeak to them. But he had covered his head, choſen darkneſs for his companion, and ſtretched himſelf upon the ground. A ſad example to the vulgar, of the inſtability of fortune; and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of raſhneſs and ill placed ambition. Not contented with being the firſt and greateſt among many millions of men, he had conſidered himſelf in a mean light, becauſe there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Caſſius, endeavored to raiſe him from the ground and conſole him, but found that he gave himſelf entirely up to deſpair. They, then, by their own authority ſummoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was reſolved that they ſhould retire. Accordingly they began to do ſo without ſound of trumpet, and ſilently enough at firſt. But when the ſick and wounded perceived that they were going to be deſerted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confuſion and diſorder. Still greater terror ſeized them as they proceeded, the foremoſt troops imagining that thoſe behind were enemies. They often miſſed their way, often ſtopped to put themſelves in ſome order, or to take ſome of the wounded off the beaſts of burden, and put others on. By theſe things they loſt a great deal of time; inſomuch that Ignatius only, who made the beſt of his way with three hundred horſe, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He ſaluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bid them go and tell Coponius who commanded there, that Craſſus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himſelf

farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as faſt as poſſible to Zeugma; by which means he ſaved himſelf and his troop; but at the ſame time, was much blamed for deſerting his general.

However, Craſſus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer conſidering that the hurry and confuſion with which the meſſage was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as ſoon as he was appriſed that Craſſus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not purſue them; but at break of day they fell upon thoſe that were left in the camp, and deſpatched them, to the number of four thouſand. The cavalry alſo picked up many others who were ſtraggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning poſted upon a hill. The barbarians ſurrounded their little corps, and killed them all, except twenty men. Theſe made their way through the enemy ſword in hand, who let them paſs, and they arrived ſafe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Craſſus, with the beſt of his officers and troops had eſcaped, and that thoſe who had retired into Carræ, were only a mixed multitude not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had loſt the fruits of his victory, but not being abſolutely certain, he wanted better information, in order to determine whether he ſhould beſiege Carræ, or purſue Craſſus, wherever he might have fled. For this purpoſe he deſpatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Craſſus, or Caſſius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As ſoon as the buſineſs of the interpreter was made known to Craſſus, he accepted the propoſal. And not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the ſame quarter, who knew Craſſus and Caſſius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. Theſe ſeeing Caſſius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready to conclude a piece with "them, on condition they would be upon terms of "friendſhip with the king his maſter, and give up Me"ſopotamia; for he thought this more advantageous to

"both, than coming to extremities." Caſſius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Craſſus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be beſieged, led his Parthians againſt them the next day. Theſe barbarians treated them with great inſolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Craſſus and Caſſius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themſelves ſo impoſed upon, told Craſſus, he muſt give up his diſtant and vain hopes of ſuccor from the Armenians, and reſolve upon flight. This reſolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till the moment it was put in execution. But Craſſus revealed it to Andromacus, one of the moſt perfidious amongſt them, whom he alſo choſe for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every ſtep that was taken.

As it was not their cuſtom, nor conſequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Craſſus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans ſometimes one way, ſometimes another, and at laſt entangled them among deep marſhes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were ſeveral who conjectured from this ſhifting and turning, that Andromachus had ſome ill deſign, and therefore refuſed to follow him any farther. As for Caſſius, he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, adviſed him to wait till the moon had paſſed the Scorpion, he anſwered, "I am more afraid of the Sagittary."* Then making the beſt of his way, he got into Aſſyria with five hundred horſe. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly ſecure, before it was light. Theſe, about five thouſand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honor.

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

Mean time day overtook Craſſus, while through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering in bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very ſmall number of horſe, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labor and difficulty; but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could do was, to retire to a hill, not ſo ſecure againſt cavalry as Sinnaca, but ſituated under thoſe mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could ſee the danger Craſſus was in, and he immediately ran down with a ſmall band to his aſſiſtance. Upon this, the reſt reproaching themſelves for ſtaying behind, deſcended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Craſſus in the midſt of them, and fencing him with their ſhields, boldly declared that no Parthian arrow ſhould touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceived that the Parthians were leſs vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a ſtratagem to get Craſſus into his hands. He diſmiſſed ſome of his priſoners, after they had heard the converſation of the Parthian ſoldiers, who had been inſtructed to ſay, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendſhip and alliance by his generous treatment of Craſſus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill where he unſtrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Craſſus to an agreement. He ſaid, "the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, "but now he would with pleaſure ſhow his moderation "and clemency, in coming to terms with the Romans, "and ſuffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this propoſal of Surena with joy. But Craſſus, whoſe errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this ſudden change in their behavior a very ſuſpicious circumſtance, did not accept the overture, but ſtood deliberating. Here-

upon the ſoldiers raiſed a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to inſults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expoſe them to the "weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet "them himſelf, when they had laid down their arms, "and wanted only a friendly conference.

At firſt he had recourſe to entreaties, and repreſented that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks which would be inacceſſible to cavalry. At the ſame time he pointed to the way, and begged of them not to forego the hopes of ſafety when they had it ſo near. But when he found they received his addreſs with anger, and claſhing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to ſpeak theſe few words: "You, Octavius, and you Petronius, "and all you Roman officers that are preſent, are wit"neſſes of the neceſſity I am under to take this ſtep, and "conſcious of the diſhonor and violence I ſuffer. But, "when you are ſafe, pray tell the world that I was de"ceived by the enemy, and not that I was abandoned by "my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would not ſtay behind; they deſcended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he ſent them back. The firſt perſons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They diſmounted and made Craſſus a low reverence, and addreſſing him in Greek, deſired he would ſend ſome of his people to ſee that Surena and his company came unarmed and without any weapons concealed about them. Craſſus anſwered, "That if his life had been of any account with him, he "ſhould not have truſted himſelf in their hands." Nevertheleſs, he ſent two brothers of the name of Roſcius before him, to inquire upon what footing, and how many of each ſide were to meet. Surena detained thoſe meſſengers, and advanced in perſon with his principal officers on horſeback. "What is this," ſaid he, "I behold? "A Roman general on foot, when we are on horſe"back?" Then he ordered a horſe to be brought for him. But Craſſus anſwered, There was no error on "either ſide, ſince each came to treat after the manner "of his country." "Then," ſaid Surena, from this

"moment there ſhall be peace and an alliance between "Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty muſt be ſigned "upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans "remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand: And when Craſſus would have ſent for a horſe, he told him, "There was no need; the king would ſupply him with one." At the ſame time a horſe was brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted Craſſus, began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the reſt of the Romans who attended, endeavored to ſtop the horſe, and to draw off thoſe who preſſed upon Craſſus on each ſide. A ſcuffle and tumult enſued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his ſword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind Octavius, deſpatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a ſtroke on his breaſt-plate, but leaped from his horſe unwounded. Craſſus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres;* though ſome ſay, another deſpatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all theſe circumſtances muſt be rather from conjecture than knowledge. For part of thoſe who attended, were ſlain in attempting to defend Craſſus, and the reſt had run up the hill on the firſt alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addreſſed themſelves to the troops at the top. They told them, Craſſus had met with the reward his injuſtice deſerved; but, as for them, Surena deſired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promiſe ſome went down and ſurrendered themſelves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of thoſe eſcaped. The reſt were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the ſword. It is ſaid, that in all there were twenty thouſand killed, and ten thouſand made priſoners.

Surena ſent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithſtanding which he ordered his meſſengers to give it out at Seleucia, that he was bringing Craſſus alive. Purſuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock

* Appian calls him Maxæthres, and in ſome copies of Plutarch he is called Axathres.

proceſſion, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who of all the priſoners, moſt reſembled Craſſus, was dreſſed in a rich robe in the Parthian faſhion, and inſtructed to anſwer to the name of Craſſus and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horſeback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were ſuſpended empty purſes, and on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtezans with muſic, ſinging ſcurrilous and farcical ſongs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Craſſus.

Theſe things were to amuſe the populace. But after the farce was over, Surena aſſembled the ſenate of Seleucia, and produced the obſcene books of Ariſtides called *Mileſiacs*. Nor was this a groundleſs invention to blacken the Romans. For the books being really found in the baggage of Ruſtius,* gave Surena an excellent opportunity to ſay many ſharp and ſatirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from ſuch libidinous actions and abominable books.

This ſcene put the Seleucians in mind of the wiſe remark of Æſop. They ſaw Surena had put the Mileſian obſcenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian ſybaris,† with a long train of carriages full of harlots; inſomuch that his army reſembled the ſerpents called *ſcytalæ*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it preſented nothing but pikes, artillery, and warhorſes; while the tail ridiculouſly enough exhibited proſtitutes, muſical inſtruments, and nights ſpent in ſinging and riot with thoſe women. Ruſtius undoubtedly was to blame, but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to cenſure the *Mileſiacs*, when many of the Arſacidæ who filled the throne, were ſons of Mileſian or Ionian courtezans.

During theſe tranſactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavaſdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's ſiſter and his ſon Pacorus. On this occaſion they freely went to each others entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were preſented.

* One of the Bodleian manuſcripts has it Roſcius.

† Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

For Orodes was not unverſed in the Grecian literature; and Artavaſdes had written tragedies himſelf, as well as orations and hiſtories, ſome of which are ſtill extant. In one of theſe entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Craſſus was brought to the door. Jaſon, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearſing the Bacchæ of Euripides, and in the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expreſſing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment, proſtrated himſelf before the king, and laid the head of Craſſus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jaſon gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthuſiaſm of a Bacchanal, ſung that part, where Agave preſents the head of Pentheus upon her thyrſus, fancying it to be that of a young lion—

> Well are our toils repay'd: On yonder mountain
> We pierc'd the lordly ſavage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on—

> The *Chorus* aſks, "Who gave the glorious blow?"
> *Agave* anſwers, "Mine, mine is the prize."

Pomaxæthres, who was ſitting at the table, upon hearing this, ſtarted up, and would have taken the head from Jaſon, inſiſting that that part belonged to him and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the preſents uſual on ſuch occaſions, and rewarded Jaſon with a talent. The expedition of Craſſus was a real tragedy, and ſuch was the *exodium*,* or farce after it.

However, the Divine Juſtice puniſhed Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death ſoon after.

* Exodium, in its original ſenſe, ſignified the unravelling of the plot, the cataſtrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that ſenſe among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light ſatirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to thoſe pieces.

And that prince, having loſt his ſon Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languiſhing diſorder, which turned to a dropſy. His ſecond ſon, Phraates, took the opportunity to give him aconite. But finding the poiſon worked only upon the watery humor, and was carrying off the diſeaſe with it, he took a ſhorter method, and ſtrangled him with his own hands.*

NICIAS AND CRASSUS, COMPARED.

ONE of the firſt things that occurs in this compariſon, is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a leſs exceptionable manner than Craſſus. The working of mines, indeed, does not ſeem very ſuitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the perſons employed are commonly malefactors

* There have been more execrable characters, but there is not, perhaps, in the hiſtory of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Craſſus. His ruling paſſion was the moſt ſordid luſt of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular and military, was ſubſervient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a ſpecies of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying-out his money in the purchaſe of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the tranſports he diſcovered ſprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the eaſt: They were nothing more than the joy of a miſer when he ſtumbles upon a hidden treaſure. Dazzled with the proſpect of barbarian gold, he graſped with eagerneſs a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarraſſed by the ſlighteſt difficulties in his military operations, and when his obſtinacy would permit him, taking his meaſures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman ſquadrons ſtanding, by his diſpoſitions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offenſive or the defenſive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before ſpent ſo much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was ſo much dreaded. It was, therefore, the firſt buſineſs of the Roman general to avoid thoſe countries which might give them any advantage in the equeſtrian action. But the hot ſcent of eaſtern treaſure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians; and to arrive at this the neareſt way, he ſacrificed the lives of thirty thouſand Romans.

or barbarians, ſome of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholeſome air put an end to their being.—But it was comparatively an honorable purſuit, when put in parallel with getting an eſtate by the confiſcations of Sylla, or by buying houſes in the midſt of fires. Yet Craſſus dealt as openly in theſe things as he did in agriculture and uſury. As to the other matters which he was cenſured for, and which he denied, namely, his making money of his vote in the ſenate, his extorting it from the allies, his overreaching ſilly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men; nothing like theſe things was ever imputed by Slander herſelf to Nicias. As to his waſting his money upon thoſe who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumſtance which expoſed him to ridicule; and unworthy perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Ariſtides; but neceſſary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus, the orator, afterwards made a merit of to the people; when cenſured for having bought off one of theſe trading informers, "I rejoice," ſaid he, "that after being ſo long employed in "the adminiſtration, I am diſcovered to have given "money, and not taken it."

As to their expenſes, Nicias appears to have been more public ſpirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were ſo many proofs of noble and generous ſentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed his whole eſtate amounted only to a ſmall part of what Craſſus expended at once, in entertaining ſo many myriads of men, and ſupplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very ſtrange to me, if there ſhould be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconſiſtency of character; particularly when he ſees men laying out that money in an honorable manner, which they have got diſhonarably. So much with regard to their riches.

If we conſider their behavior in the adminiſtration, we ſhall not find in Nicias any inſtance of cunning, injuſtice, violence, or effrontery. On the contrary, he ſuffered Alcibiades to impoſe upon him, and he was modeſt or rather timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Craſſus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again, if his intereſt required it, is juſtly accuſed of

an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he uſed violence to attain the conſulſhip, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the aſſembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded, and four citizens killed. Nay, Craſſus himſelf ſtruck a ſenator, named Lucius Annalius, who oppoſed his meaſures, upon the face with his fiſt (a circumſtance which eſcaped us in his life) and drove him out of the *forum*, covered with blood.

But if Craſſus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean ſubmiſſion to the moſt abandoned perſons in the ſtate, deſerves the greateſt reproach. Beſides, Craſſus ſhowed ſome magnanimity and dignity of ſentiment, in contending, not with ſuch wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæſar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the diſpute well with them for power, and in the high honor of the cenſorſhip he was even beyond Pompey. For he who wants to ſtand at the helm, ſhould not conſider what may expoſe him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may, by its luſtre, force envy to ſpeak behind. But if ſecurity and repoſe are to be conſulted above all things, if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the *roſtrum*, of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then ſurely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourſelf the ſoft crown of tranquillity, as ſome of the philoſophers expreſs it. The love Nicias had for peace, was indeed, a divine attachment, and his endeavors, during his whole adminiſtration, to put an end to the war, were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in ſo honorable a light, that Craſſus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caſpian Sea or the Indian Ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheleſs, in a commonwealth which retains any ſentiments of virtue, he who has the lead, ſhould not give place, for a moment, to perſons of no principle; he ſhould intruſt no charge with thoſe who want capacity, nor place any confidence in thoſe who want honor. And Nicias certainly did this in raiſing Cleon to the command of the army, a man who had nothing to recommend him, but

his impudence and his bawling in the roſtrum. On the other hand, I do not commend Craſſus for advancing to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence; though his ambition had this excuſe, that he was afraid Pompey would come and ſnatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very abſurd and meanſpirited.* He would not give up to his enemy the honor and truſt of commander in chief, while he could execute that charge with eaſe, and had good hopes of ſucceſs; but as ſoon as he ſaw it attended with great danger, he was willing to ſecure himſelf, though he expoſed the public by it. It was not thus Themiſtocles behaved in the Perſian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command, who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew muſt have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him, by a ſum of money, to give up his pretenſions. And Cato ſtood for the tribuneſhip, when he ſaw it would involve him in the greateſt trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only to go againſt Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians; but if there was occaſion to fight with the Lacedæmonians, he put off his armor, and intruſted the ſhips, the men, the warlike ſtores, in ſhort the entire direction of a war which required the moſt conſummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and raſhneſs of Cleon, in which he was not only unjuſt to himſelf and his own honor, but to the welfare and ſafety of his country. This made the Athenians ſend him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, againſt Syracuſe. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of ſucceſs, but a regard to his own eaſe, and a want of ſpirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conqueſt of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually againſt war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it as the ableſt and beſt general they had. But Craſſus, though he was for ever aiming at ſuch a charge, never gained one, except in the war with the gladiators; and that only becauſe Pompey, Metellus, and both the

* The ſenſe requires that we ſhould read δίλον, not δεινον.

Lucullus's were abſent. This is the more remarkable, becauſe Craſſus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But, it ſeems, his beſt friends thought him (as the comic poet expreſſes it)

In all trades ſkill'd except the trade of war.

However, this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them reſt, till they aſſigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias againſt his inclination; and it was againſt the inclination of the Romans, that Craſſus led them out. Craſſus involved his country in misfortunes; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheleſs, in this reſpect, it is eaſier to commend Nicias, than to blame Craſſus. The capacity and ſkill of the former, as a general, kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the firſt that Sicily could not be conquered: The latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an eaſy undertaking. In this he found himſelf ſadly deceived; yet his aim was great. While Cæſar was ſubduing the Weſt, the Gauls, the Germans and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian Ocean on the Eaſt, and to conquer all Aſia; things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected, if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the ſame deſigns, and made the ſame attempts with Craſſus, their characters ſtood unimpeached, both as to moderation and probity. If Craſſus was oppoſed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was oppoſed by the ſenate, when he got Aſia for his province. And when Cæſar had routed three hundred thouſand Germans, Cato voted that he ſhould be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thankſgiving to the gods, for fifteen days, and thought themſelves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered ſacrifices, if Craſſus could have ſent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Perſia, Hyrcania, Suſa and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For, according to Euripides, if juſtice muſt be violated, and men can

now ſit down quiet and contented with their preſent poſſeſſions, it ſhould not be for taking the ſmall town of Scandia, or razing ſuch a caſtle as Mende; nor yet for going in chaſe of the fugitive Æginetæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country: The price of injuſtice ſhould be high; ſo ſacred a thing as right ſhould not be invaded for a trifling conſideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Craſſus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, ſeveral of Nicias's are very conſiderable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuſe. Nor were all his miſcarriages ſo many errors; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Craſſus committed ſo many errors, that Fortune had no opportunity to ſhow him any favor; wherefore we need not ſo much wonder that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greateſt attention to divination, and the other entirely diſregarded it, and yet both periſhed alike, it is hard to ſay whether the obſervation of omens is a ſalutary thing or not. Nevertheleſs, to err on the ſide of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing than to err through obſtinacy and preſumption.

Craſſus, however, was not ſo reproachable in his exit. He did not ſurrender himſelf, or ſubmit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes; but in yielding to the inſtances of his friends, he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injuſtice of the barbarians. Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondneſs for life, put himſelf in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baſer and more diſhonorable end.

SERTORIUS.

IT is not at all aſtoniſhing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a courſe of numberleſs ages, happens often to hit upon the ſame point, and to produce events perfectly ſimilar. For, if the number of events be infinite, Fortune may eaſily furniſh herſelf with parallels in ſuch abundance of matter: If their number be limited, there muſt neceſſarily be a return of the ſame occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleaſure in collecting thoſe accidents and adventures they have met with in hiſtory or converſation, which have ſuch a characteriſtical likeneſs, as to appear the effects of reaſon and foreſight. For example, there were two eminent perſons of the name of Attis;* the one a Syrian, the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers.† Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demoliſhed it. Troy was taken three times; the firſt time by Hercules, on account of Laomeden's horſes; the ſecond time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horſe;‡ the third by Charidemus, a horſe happening to ſtand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from ſhutting the gates ſo quickly as

* Pauſanias, in his Achaics, mentions one Attis or Attes, the ſon of Celæus the Phrygian, who introduced the worſhip of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himſelf under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might poſſibly be the firſt who propoſed that all the prieſts of that goddeſs ſhould be eunuchs. Pauſanias adds, that Jupiter, diſpleaſed at his being ſo great a favorite with her, ſent a boar, which ravaged the fields, and ſlew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

† Acteon, the ſon of Ariſtæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Acteon, the ſon of Meliſſus, by the Bacchiadæ. See the Scholiaſt upon *Apollonius*, Book iv.

‡ Theſe are all wooden inſtances of events, being under the guidance of an intelligent being. Nay, theſe are ſuch puerilities as Timæus himſelf ſcarce ever gave into.

they ſhould have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the moſt odoriferous plants, *Ios** and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer is ſaid to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To theſe inſtances we may add, that ſome of the generals who have been the greateſt warriors, and have exerted their capacity for ſtratagem in the moſt ſucceſsful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whoſe life we are now going to write. A man whoſe conduct, with reſpect to women, was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal; but, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell ſhort of them all in ſucceſs. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his moſt inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he ſhowed himſelf a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and a ſojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general who, we think, moſt reſembles him, is Eumenes of Cardia.† Both of them excelled in point of generalſhip; in the art of ſtratagem, as well as courage. Both were baniſhed their own countries, and commanded armies in others. And both had to contend with Fortune, who perſecuted them ſo violently, that at laſt they were aſſaſſinated through the treachery of thoſe very perſons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a reſpectable family in the town of Nurſia, and country of the Sabines. Having loſt his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom on that account he always loved with the greateſt tenderneſs. Her name was Rhea. He was ſufficiently qualified to ſpeak in a court of juſtice; and by his abilities that way gained ſome intereſt, when but a youth, in Rome itſelf. But his greater talents for the camp, and his ſucceſs as a ſoldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

* Some ſuppoſe Ios to have been an iſland rather than a town. But if it was an iſland, there might be a town in it of the ſame name, which was often the caſe in the Greek iſlands.

† In the Thracian Cherſoneſus.

He made his firſt campaign under Cæpio,* when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behavior was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occaſion Sertorius loſt his horſe, and received many wounds himſelf, yet he ſwam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breaſtplate and ſhield, in ſpite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his ſtrength of body, and ſo much had he improved that ſtrength by exerciſe.

The ſame enemy came on a ſecond time, with ſuch prodigious numbers, and ſuch dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his poſt, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his ſervice to go as a ſpy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpoſe, he took a Gauliſh habit, and having learned as much of the language as might ſuffice for common addreſs, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had ſeen and heard enough to let him into the meaſures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honored him with the eſtabliſhed rewards of valor; and, during that whole war, he gave ſuch proofs of his courage and capacity, as raiſed him to diſtinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was ſent as a legionary tribune, under Didius, into Spain, and took up his winter quarters in Caſtulo,† a city of the Celtiberians. The ſoldiers living in great plenty, behaved in an inſolent and diſorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians ſeeing this, held them in contempt; and one night having got aſſiſtance from their neighbors the Gyriſcenians,‡ they entered the houſes where they were quartered, and put them to the ſword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means

* In the printed text it is *Scipio*; but two manuſcripts give us *Cæpio*. And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio, who, with the conſul Cn. Mallius, was defeated by the Cimbri, in the fourth year of the hundred and ſixty-eighth Olympiad, a hundred and three years before the Chriſtian era.

† A town of New Caſtile, on the confines of Andaluſia.

‡ The Gyriſcenians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been conjectured that we ſhould read *Oriſians*. The Oriſians were of that diſtrict. See *Cellarius*.

to escape, rallied out and collected all that he had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he marched round the town, and finding the gate open at which the Gyrisœnians had been privately admitted, he entered; but took care not to commit the same error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of all quarters of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their own arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyrisœnians. The people, deceived by the suits of armor and habits they were acquainted with, opened their gates, and sallied forth in expectation of meeting their friends and fellowcitizens in all the joy of success. The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces at the gates; the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quæstor in the Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very seasonable one; for the Marian war soon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that, while effeminacy and supineness were spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said, others did not always carry about with them the honorable badges of their valor, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and those who saw his misfortune, at the same time beheld his courage. The people, too, treated him with the highest respect. When he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations; an honor which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet when he ſtood for the office of tribune of the people, he loſt it through the oppoſition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cauſe of his perpetual enmity againſt Sylla. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was gone to carry on the war againſt Mithridates, Octavius, one of the conſuls, remained in Sylla's intereſt; but Cinna, the other conſul, whoſe temper was reſtleſs and ſeditious, endeavored to revive the ſinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter; the rather becauſe he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigor, and that he diſtruſted the friends of Marius.

Sometime after, a great battle was fought by the conſuls in the *forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sentorius having loſt not much leſs than ten thouſand men, were forced to fly. But, as there was a number of troops ſcattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promiſes, and with that addition found themſelves able to make head againſt Octavius again. At the ſame time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himſelf under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the conſul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him; only Sertorius oppoſed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay ſo much attention to him, when he had a man of ſo much greater name, as a general, in his army; or whether he feared the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confuſion again; as he indulged his reſentments without any regard to juſtice or moderation whenever he had the advantage. He remonſtrated, that as they were already ſuperior to the enemy, they had not much left to do; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honor and the power at the ſame time, for he could not endure an aſſociate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own intereſt was concerned.

Cinna anſwered, that the ſentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was aſhamed, and indeed knew not how to reject Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come of his own "accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that "caſe was moſt expedient for you to do; but, as he

"came upon your invitation, you should not have delib-
"erated* a moment, whether he was to be admitted or
"not. You should have received him immediately.
"True honor leaves no room for doubt and hesita-
"tion."

Cinna then sent for Marius; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over, Cinna and Marius gave into every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage: On the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves whom Marius had admitted his fellow-soldiers, and afterwards employed as the guards of his tyranny,† were a strong and numerous body; and that partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating the children; he concluded, that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna that followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success. For sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, when Sylla encamped near Scipio, and amusing him with careresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the event would be, but he never listened to him.

* Qui deliberant desiverunt. *Tacit.*
† The *Bardiæans.*

Then giving up Rome for loſt, he retired with the utmoſt expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to ſuch of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful ſtorms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians inſiſted that he ſhould pay toll, and purchaſe his paſſage over them. Thoſe that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an inſufferable thing for a Roman proconſul to pay toll to ſuch a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the ſeeming diſgrace, and ſaid, "Time was the thing he purchaſed, than which nothing "in the world could be more precious to a man engaged "in great attempts." He therefore ſatisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and paſſed over into Spain without loſing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the ſame time the people, oppreſſed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were illdiſpoſed towards any Roman government whatever. To remove this averſion, he tried to gain the better ſort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excuſing them from providing quarters for the ſoldiers, was the moſt agreeable meaſure. For he ordered his men to paſs the winter in tents without the walls, and he ſet them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had ſettled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops; he provided ſuch a variety of warlike machines, and built ſuch a number of ſhips, as kept the cities in awe; and though his addreſs was mild and gentle in peace, he made himſelf formidable by his preparations for war.

As ſoon as he was informed that Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely ſuppreſſed, he concluded that an army would ſoon be ſent againſt him under the conduct of an able general. For this reaſon he ſent Julius Salinator, with ſix thouſand foot, to block up the paſſes of the Pyrennees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla; and ſeeing it impoſſible to diſlodge Salinator, he ſat down at the foot of the mountain, not know-

ing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, ſurnamed Lenarius, aſſaſſinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Annius paſſed them, eaſily repulſing with his great army the few that oppoſed him. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with three thouſand men to New-Carthage; where he embarked, and croſſed over to Africa. The Mauruſian coaſt was the land he touched upon; and his men going on ſhore there to water, and not being upon their guard, the barbarians fell upon them, and killed a conſiderable number; ſo that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coaſts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make a deſcent there; but having met with ſome veſſels of Cilician pirates, he perſuaded them to join him, and made his landing good in the Iſle of Pityuſa,* forcing his way through the guards which Annius had placed there.

Soon after, Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thouſand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him, though his veſſels were ſmall, and made rather for ſwift ſailing than ſtrength. But a violent weſt wind ſpringing up, raiſed ſuch a ſtorm, that the greateſt part of Sertorius's ſhips, being too light to bear up againſt it, were driven upon the rocky ſhore. Sertorius himſelf was prevented by the ſtorm from making his way at ſea, and by the enemy from landing; ſo that he was toſſed about by the waves for ten days together, and at laſt eſcaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among ſome ſcattered iſlands in that quarter. There he landed; but finding they were without water, he put to ſea again, croſſed the Straits of Gades, and keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large track to diſcharge itſelf in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it paſſes.† There he found ſome mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Iſlands.‡ Theſe are two in number, ſeparated only by a narrow channel, and are at the diſtance of four hundred leagues‖ from the African

* Now *Ivica*.
† *Bætica*, now *Andaluſia*.
‡ The Canaries.
‖ In the original, *ten thouſand furlongs*.

coaſt. They called the *Fortunate Iſlands*. Rain ſeldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately; but they generally have ſoft breezes, which ſcatter ſuch rich dews, that the ſoil is not only good for ſowing and planting, but ſpontaneouſly produces the moſt excellent fruits, and thoſe in ſuch abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themſelves in the enjoyment of eaſe. The air is always pleaſant and ſalubrious, through the happy temperature of the ſeaſons, and their inſenſible tranſition into each other. For the north and eaſt winds which blow from our continent, in the immenſe track they have to paſs, are diſſipated and loſt; while the ſea winds, that is, the ſouth and the weſt, bring with them from the ocean, ſlight and gentle ſhowers, but oftener only a refreſhing moiſture, which imperceptibly ſcatters plenty on their plains. So that it is generally believed, even among the barbarians, that theſe are the Elyſian Fields, and the Seats of the Bleſſed, which Homer has deſcribed in all the charms of verſe.*

Sertorius hearing theſe wonders, conceived a ſtrong deſire to fix himſelf in thoſe iſlands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a diſtance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who wanted neither peace nor repoſe, but riches and ſpoils, no ſooner perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, to reſtore Aſcalis, the ſon of Iphtha, to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himſelf up to deſpair, reſolved to go and aſſiſt the people who were at war with Aſcalis in order to open to his troops another proſpect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquiſhing him for want of ſupport. His arrival was very acceptable to the *Moors*, and he ſoon beat Aſcalis in a pitched battle; after which he beſieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon Sylla interpoſed, and ſent Paccianus with a conſiderable force to the aſſiſtance of Aſcalis. Sertorius meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, aſſaulted and took the city of Tingis,† whither Aſcalis and his bro-

* Odyſſ. IV.

† In the text *Tingene*. Strabo tells us, the barbarians call it *Tinga*, that Artemidorus gives it the name of *Linga*, and Eratoſthenes that of *Lixus*.

thers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us, the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long.* He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city, to which he gave his mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the son of Sophax, subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Olbians and Mycenians, settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians; for he is said to have been a descendant of Sophax and Dyodorus, the son and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no sort of harm to those who surrendered themselves or placed a confidence in him. He restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government in their hands again; taking nothing for himself but what they voluntarily offered him.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to invite him to take the command among them. For they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles; and he was the only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said to have been proof against the impressions both of pleasure and fear; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more

* If it did not appear from Strabo, that Plutarch has here only copied the fable of Gabinius, concerning the stature of Antæus we should be inclined to think that there was an error in the text and, that instead of ἑξηκοντόπηχυν, we should read ἑξ ἐχόντων, referring the participle to σωμα, immediately preceding. We the more readily give into this opinion, as the antiques of Hercules and Antæus do not represent the latter more in proportion than half a cubit higher than the former. And if we are to believe, at the same time, that Hercules, after he had killed Antæus, had connexions with his widow, that must confirm us in the altered reading.

prosperous fortune; in any great and sudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance, as well as dispatch, was necessary, for seizing a pass, or securing a strong hold, one of the greatest masters of stratagem in the world; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true, his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that the clemency he showed before, was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to suit his occasions. I think, indeed, that the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, as to give place to the opposite vice. Yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly be soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured or betrayed him.

At present, having accepted the invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival, he was invested with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighboring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency, as well as the vigor of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least.* Spanus, a countryman who lived in those parts, happening to fall in with a hind which had newly yeaned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but, charmed with the uncommon color of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighborhood; and whatever was brought to him, taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this present like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary

* Sertorius had learned these arts of Marius.

notice of it. But in time it became so tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there were something sacred and mysterious in the affair; giving it out that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it discovered to him many important secrets. For he knew the natural power of superstition over the minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of his scheme, when the enemy was making a private eruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice, and sacrifice to the gods, on account of some news they would soon hear.

By this invention he made them so tractable, that they obeyed his orders in every thing without hesitation, no longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger, but the immediate direction of heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond all they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion. For, with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans (though among them there were seven hundred Africans, who came over with him) and an addition of four thousand light armed Lusitanians, and seven hundred horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had an hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though at first he had twenty cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals that opposed him, he beat Cotta at sea in the Straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius*

* Xylander has it *Didius*, which is agreeable to some manuscripts; Cruserius, upon conjecture only, reads it *Ausidius*. But as the learned Moses Du Soul observes, there is a corrupt and insignificant τυ in the text—Καὶ ἐναυμαχησεν τυ Φιδιον δι—and thence he concludes, with some degree of probability, that we should read *Furfidi-*

who had the chief command in Bætica, and killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius,* proconsul of the other Spain; he likewise slew Thoranius,† one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey *the Great* was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harrassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of his Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains, or capacity to vie in flying and pursuing men as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat any thing undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now advanced in years, and after his many campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living; whereas Sertorius was in the vigor of his age, full of spirits, and had brought his strength and activity to the greatest perfection, by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do; and he had accustomed himself to bear labor and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he

us, Freinshem, in his Supplement to Livy (xc. 28.) calls this General *Furfidius*; and he might do it upon the authority of some ancient manuscript of Plutarch.

* *Lusius* in the text again is corrupt. We read it Lucius Manlius from Orosius and Livy.

† Florus has it *Thorius*.

found no manner of difficulty in it, and if he had occaſion to purſue or ſurround the enemy, he could execute it with eaſe.

Hence it was, that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, ſuffered all the inconveniences of a defeat; and Sertorius gained as much by flying, as he could have done by conquering and purſuing. For he cut his adverſary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harraſs them; and if they ſat ſtill, he galled them in ſuch a manner, that they were forced to quit their poſt. If they inveſted a town, he was ſoon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were beſieged the beſiegers; inſomuch, that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given; inſiſting that general ſhould fight with general, and Roman with Roman; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abuſed him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right; for as Theophraſtus ſays, "A general ſhould die like a general, and not like a common ſoldier.

He found that the Langobritæ were very ſerviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the ſame time, that he might ſoon bring them to ſurrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himſelf maſter of the ſprings in the ſuburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced againſt the town; but concluding he ſhould take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days proviſions with them. But Sertorius gave the people ſpeedy aſſiſtance. He got two thouſand ſkins, and filled them with water, promiſing a good reward for the care of each veſſel or ſkin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their ſervice on this occaſion; and having ſelected the ſtrongeſt and ſwifteſt of them, he ſent them along the mountains, with orders, when they delivered theſe veſſels, to take all uſeleſs perſons out of the town, that the water might be fully ſufficient for the reſt during the whole courſe of the ſiege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and as his proviſions began to fail, he ſent out Aquilius* with ſix thouſand men to

* The common reading in the Greek text is *Aquinus*, but the manuſcripts give us *Aquilius*.

collect freſh ſupplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambuſh for Aquilius, and upon his return, three thouſand men, who were placed in the ſhady channel of a brook for the purpoſe, roſe up and attacked him in the rear. At the ſame time Sertorius himſelf, charging him in front, killed a conſiderable number of his party and took the reſt priſoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loſs both of his horſe and his arms; whereupon Metellus retired with diſgrace, greatly inſulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This ſucceſs procured Sertorius the admiration and eſteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed them ſtill more was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; ſo that, inſtead of exerting their ſtrength in a ſavage and diſorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he poliſhed them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumſtance was, that he furniſhed them with abundance of gold and ſilver to guild their helmets, and enrich their ſhields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered veſts, and magnificent coats; nor did he give them ſupplies only for theſe purpoſes, but he ſet them the example.* The finiſhing ſtroke was, his collecting, from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of Oſca,† and his furniſhing them with maſters to inſtruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commiſſions; but in fact, the children were ſo many hoſtages. Meanwhile, the parents were delighted to ſee their ſons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great ſtate to the ſchools, without any expenſe to them. For Sertorius took the whole upon himſelf, often examining beſides into the improvements they made, and diſtributing proper rewards to thoſe of moſt merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *bullæ*.

* Alexander had taken the ſame method, before him, among the Perſians. For he ordered thirty thouſand Perſian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner.

† A city in Hiſpania Tarraconenſis.

It was then the cuſtom in Spain, for the band which fought near the general's perſon, when he fell, to die with him. This manner of devoting themſelves to death, the barbarians call a *Libation*.* The other generals had but a few of theſe guards or knights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themſelves under that obligation. It is ſaid, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were preſſing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to ſave Sertorius, expoſed themſelves without any precaution. They paſſed him upon their ſhoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls, and when their general was ſecure, then they diſperſed, and fled for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spaniſh ſoldiers only, but by thoſe which came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the ſame party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money, and a reſpectable army, intending to proceed in his operations againſt Metellus upon his own bottom; the troops diſliked the ſcheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave great uneaſineſs to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter ſtop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had paſſed the Pyrennees, the ſoldiers took up their arms and ſtandards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to ſave both himſelf and thoſe under his command. So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts.†

Sertorius now found himſelf at the head of a great army; for, beſides the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his intereſt, and troops were daily flocking in on all ſides. But it gave him pain to ſee them behave with the diſorder and ferocity of barbarians; to find them calling upon him to give the ſignal to charge, and impatient of the leaſt delay. He tried what mild repreſentations would do, and they had no effect. They ſtill continued obſtinate and clamorous, often

* In Gaul, the perſons who laid themſelves under this obligation, were called *Soldarii*. *Cæſ. de Bell. Gal.* l. iii.

† A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

demanding the combat in a very unſeaſonable manner. At laſt he permitted them to engage in their own way, in conſequence of which they would ſuffer great loſs, though he deſigned to prevent their being entirely defeated. Theſe checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under diſcipline.

The event anſwered his expectation. They fought and were beaten; but making up with ſuccors, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them ſafe into the camp. His next ſtep was to rouſe them out of their deſpondence. For which purpoſe, a few days after, he aſſembled all his forces, and produced two horſes before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and ſtrong, and remarkable beſides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horſe ſtood a robuſt able bodied man, and by the ſtrong horſe ſtood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a ſignal given, the ſtrong man began to pull and drag about the weak horſe by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horſe's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time to the great diverſion of the ſpectators, and at laſt was forced to give up the point; the latter, without any difficulty, ſoon ſtripped the great horſe's tail of all its hair.* Then Sertorius roſe up, and ſaid, "You ſee, "my friends and fellow ſoldiers, how much greater are "the effects of perſeverance, than thoſe of force, and "that there are many things invincible in their collec- "tive capacity and in a ſtate of union, which may gra- "dually be overcome when they are once ſeparated. In "ſhort, perſeverance is irreſiſtible. By this means, time "attacks and deſtroys the ſtrongeſt things upon earth. "Time, I ſay, who is the beſt friend and ally to thoſe "that have the diſcernment to uſe it properly, and watch "the opportunities it preſents, and the worſt enemy to "thoſe who will be ruſhing into action when it does not "call them." By ſuch ſymbols as theſe, Sertorius applied to the ſenſes of the barbarians, and inſtructed them to wait for proper junctures and occaſions.

But his contrivance, with reſpect to the Characitani gained him as much admiration, as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitani are ſeated be-

* Horace alludes to this, l. ii. ep. 1.

yond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all to the north. The soil of all the country about it is a clay, so very light and crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder with the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire to these caves with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius retiring to some distance from Metellus, encamped upon this hill; and the savage inhabitants imagining he retired only because he was beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment, or willing to show them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed that the wind blew the dust in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which, as I said before, are all to the north.* The north wind, which some call *Cæcias*,† prevails most in those parts; taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the daytime refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighboring Spaniards that these were the usual appearances, ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it over against the hill. The barbarians imagining he intended to storm their strong holds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work till night, and then he led them back into the camp. Next morning, at break of day, a gentle breeze sprung up, which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and as the sun got up higher

* Media inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem. *Plin.* l. ii. c. 47.

† Narrant et in Ponto Cæcian in se trahere nubes. Ib.

the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with duſt. Meantime the ſoldiers ſtirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and ſome galloped up and down to raiſe the light earth, and thicken the clouds of duſt in the wind, which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani; their entrances directly facing it. As they were caves, and, of courſe, had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were ſoon filled, and they could ſcarce breathe for the ſuffocating duſt which they drew in with the air. In theſe wretched circumſtances they held out two days, though with great difficulty, and the third day ſurrendered themſelves to Sertorius at diſcretion; who, by reducing them, did not gain ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength as of honor. For an honor it was to ſubdue thoſe by policy whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on a war againſt Metellus only, his ſucceſs in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adverſary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops ſo light, that they might paſs rather for a marauding party, than a regular army. But when Pompey had paſſed the Pyrennees, and Sertorius took poſt againſt him, every art of generalſhip on both ſides was exhauſted, and yet even then it appeared, that in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this caſe, the fame of Sertorius greatly increaſed, and extended itſelf as far as Rome, where he was conſidered as the ableſt general of his time. Indeed, the honor Pompey had acquired, was very conſiderable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla, ſet him in a very reſpectable light, inſomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of *the Great*, and he was diſtinguiſhed with a triumph, even before he wrote man. This made many of the cities, which were under the command of Sertorius, caſt their eyes upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they returned to their old attachment, upon the unexpected ſucceſs that attended Sertorius at Lauron.*

Sertorius was beſieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at ſome diſtance from the walls, from which the city might

* A city of Hither Spain, five leagues from Valentia.

be greatly annoyed. Sertorius haſtened to ſeize it, and Pompey to prevent him; but the former gained the poſt. Pompey, however, ſat down by it with great ſatisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he ſent a meſſage to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly eaſy, and ſit quietly upon "their walls, while they ſaw him beſiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and ſaid, "I will teach that ſcholar of Sylla" (ſo in ridicule he called Pompey) "that a general ought to look behind him, rather than before him." At the ſame time he ſhowed the beſieged a body of ſix thouſand foot in the camp which he had quitted, in order to ſeize the hill, and which had been left there on purpoſe to take Pompey in the rear, when he ſhould come to attack Sertorius in the poſt he now occupied.

Pompey, not diſcovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded. And yet he was aſhamed to leave the Lauronites in ſuch extreme danger. The conſequence was, that he was obliged to ſit ſtill and ſee the town loſt. The people, in deſpair of aſſiſtance, ſurrendered to Sertorius, who was pleaſed to ſpare the inhabitants, and let them go free; but he laid their city in aſhes. This was not done out of anger, or a ſpirit of cruelty (for he ſeems to have indulged his reſentment leſs than any other general whatever) but to put the admirers of Pompey to the bluſh; while it was ſaid among the barbarians, that though he was at hand, and almoſt warmed himſelf at the flame, he ſuffered his allies to periſh.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the courſe of the war; but it was not where he acted in perſon; for he ever continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And ſuch was his manner of rectifying the miſtakes, that he met with more applauſe, than his adverſaries in the midſt of their ſucceſs. Inſtances of which, we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tuttia* with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the ſooner, becauſe Pompey haſtened it, to prevent Metellus

* Grævius conjectures, that we ſhould read *Turia*, the *Turius* being a river which falls into the Sucro.

from having a ſhare in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted, to try his ſtrength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the perſuaſion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkneſs a hinderance to them, whether they ſhould have occaſion to fly or to purſue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wiſhed, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing, oppoſite to *him*, who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as ſoon as he underſtood that his left gave way to the vigorous impreſſions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and haſtened to ſupport that which had the diſadvantage. By rallying the fugitives, and encouraging thoſe who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confuſion, who before was purſuing; nay, that general was in the greateſt danger; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty. For the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horſe, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the purſuit, to quarrel about dividing the ſpoil. In the mean time, when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to ſuccor the other in diſtreſs, Afranius overthrew all before him, and cloſely purſuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was dark; he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the ſoldiers from plundering, if he had deſired it. At this inſtant, Sertorius returns with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius, which were ſcattered up and down the camp, and deſtroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again; but perceiving that Metullus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gaiety: "If the old woman," ſaid he, "had "not been here, I would have flogged the boy well, and "ſent him back to Rome."

He was, notwithſtanding, much afflicted for the loſs of his hind. For ſhe was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune ſome of his ſoldiers, as they were ſtrolling one night about the country, met with her, and knowing her by the color, brought her to him.

Sertorius, happy to find her again, promiſed the ſoldiers large ſums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind; and a few days after appeared in public with a cheerful countenance, to tranſact buſineſs, telling the barbarian officers, that he had ſome extraordinary happineſs announced to him from heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal, for the diſpatch of ſuch affairs as might come before him. At that inſtant the hind being let looſe near the place, by thoſe who had the charge of her, and ſeeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in the manner to which ſhe had long been trained. Sertorius returned her careſſes with all the tokens of a ſincere affection, even to the ſhedding of tears. The aſſembly at firſt looked on with ſilent aſtoniſhment; but afterwards they teſtified their regard for Sertorius with the loudeſt plaudits and acclamations, as a perſon of a ſuperior nature, beloved by the gods. With theſe impreſſions they conducted him to his pavilion, and reſumed all the hopes and ſpirits with which he could have wiſhed to inſpire them.

He watched the enemy ſo cloſe in the plains of Saguntum, that they were in great want of proviſions; and as they were determined at laſt to go out to forage and collect neceſſaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valor were performed on both ſides. Memmius, the beſt officer Pompey had, fell in the hotteſt of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and, through heaps of the ſlain, made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppoſe him, and fought with a vigor above his years, but at laſt was borne down with the ſtroke of a ſpear. All the Romans who ſaw or heard of his diſaſter, reſolved not to abandon their general, and from an impulſe of ſhame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and ſheltered Metellus with their ſhields, till others carried him off in ſafety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed ſides, Sertorius, to ſecure a ſafe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raiſing freſh forces, had the art to retire into a city ſtrongly ſituated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, as though he thought of nothing leſs than ſtanding a ſiege. The enemy, however, were de-

ceived by appearances. They invested the place, and, in the imagination that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command, with instructions, when they had assembled a sufficient number, to send a messenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new raised troops, and returned with that additional strength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land: At land, by laying ambushes, or hemming them in, and by the rapidity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter: At sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans were obliged to separate. Metullus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter quarters in the territories of the Vacceians, where he was greatly distressed for want of money; insomuch that he informed the senate, he should soon leave the country, if they did not supply him; for he had already sacrificed his own fortune in defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and the ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then published; for which Metellus offered a reward of an hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land to any Roman who should take him; and if that Roman was an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate, that he suffered himself to be saluted as *Imperator*; and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said, he received crowns of victory, that he made most magnificent entertainments on the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, descended in ma-

chines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins ſung ſongs in his praiſe. Theſe circumſtances were extremely ridiculous, if he expreſſed ſo much joy and ſuch ſuperabundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every ſtep he took. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a ſenate. Out of them he appointed quæſtors and lieutenants, and in every thing he proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of ſtill greater moment, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not ſuffer the Spaniards to have the leaſt ſhare in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors; to make it appear that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to ſet up the Spaniards againſt the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his paſſion to be reſtored to it, was one of the firſt in his heart. Yet, in his greateſt misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity. On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey, to lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He ſaid, he had rather be the meaneſt citizen in Rome, than an exile with the command of all the other countries in the world.

This love of his country is ſaid to have been in ſome meaſure owing to the attachment he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; conſequently his affections centered in her. His Spaniſh friends wanted to conſtitute him ſupreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himſelf up to the moſt alarming grief. For ſeven whole days he neither gave the word, nor would be ſeen by any of his friends. At laſt, his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beſet his tent, and inſiſted that he ſhould riſe from the ground, and make his appearance, to ſpeak to the ſoldiers, and to take the direction of their affairs, which were then as proſperous as he could deſire. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a

lover of tranquility, but was brought againſt his inclination, by ſome means or other, to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard preſſed by his enemies, and had no other ſhelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourſe to it merely in the way of ſelfdefence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity, than thoſe that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the liſts again, and renewed his pretenſions to Aſia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itſelf into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the weſt, carried back news of his achievements, like commodities from a diſtant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to ſend an embaſſy to him; induced to it by the vain ſpeeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and inſiſted that the Romans would never be able to bear up againſt two ſuch powers and two perſons of ſuch genius and abilities, when attacked by them in different quarters; the one being the moſt excellent of generals, and the other the greateſt of kings.

In purſuance of this ſcheme, Mithridates ſent ambaſſadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and propoſals to be made in conference; the purport of which was, that the king would ſupply him with money and ſhips for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Aſia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius aſſembled his council, which he called *the Senate*. They were unanimous in their opinion that he ſhould accept the conditions, and think himſelf happy in them; ſince they were only aſked an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would ſupply them with what they moſt wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He ſaid, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accuſtomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any juſt title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim; a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards loſt to Fimbria, and at laſt had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never conſent that he ſhould be

put in poſſeſſion of it again. "Rome," ſaid he, "ought "to have her power extended by my victories, and it is "not my right to riſe to power at her expenſe. A man "who has any dignity of ſentiment ſhould conquer "with honor, and not uſe any baſe means even to ſave "his life."

Mithridates was perfectly aſtoniſhed at this anſwer, and thus communicated his ſurpriſe to his friends: "What "orders would Sertorius give us, when ſeated in the "ſenate houſe at Rome, if now, driven as he is to the "coaſts of the Atlantic Ocean, he preſcribes bounds to "our empire, and threatens us with war if we make any "attempt upon Aſia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was ſworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to ſupply him with a general and ſome troops; the king, on the other hand, was to furniſh Sertorius with three thouſand talents, and forty ſhips of war.

The general whom Sertorius ſent into Aſia, was a ſenator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his aſſiſtance, had taken ſome cities in Aſia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the ſecond place as one of his train. Marius declared ſome of thoſe cities free, and excuſed others from impoſts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for theſe favors to Sertorius. So that Aſia, which labored again under the exaction of the Roman taxgatherers, and the oppreſſions and inſults of the garriſons, had once more a proſpect of ſome happier mode of government.

But in Spain, the ſenators about Sertorius, who looked upon themſelves as on a footing with him, no ſooner ſaw themſelves as a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a fooliſh jealouſy and envy of their general. At the head of theſe was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aſpired to the command, and ſcrupled not to addreſs his partizans in private with ſuch ſpeeches as theſe: "What evil demon "poſſeſſes us, and leads us from bad to worſe? We, who "would not ſtay at home and ſubmit to the orders of "Sylla, who is maſter both of ſea and land, what are "we come to? Did we not come here for liberty? Yet "here we are voluntary ſlaves; guards to the exiled Ser-

"torius. We ſuffer ourſelves to be amuſed with the "title of a ſenate; a title deſpiſed and ridiculed by all "the world. O noble ſenators, who ſubmit to the moſt "mortifying taſks and labors, as much as the meaneſt "Spaniards and Luſitanians!"

Numbers were attacked with theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes; and though they did not openly revolt becauſe they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin his affairs, by treating the barbarians ill, inflicting heavy puniſhments, and collecting exorbitant ſubſidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raiſe diſturbances; and the perſons ſent to compoſe thoſe diſturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the riſing ſpirit of diſobedience; inſomuch that Sertorius departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injuſtice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Oſca, putting ſome to death, and ſelling others for ſlaves.

The conſpiracy daily gathered ſtrength, and among the reſt Perpenna drew in Manlius,* who had a conſiderable command in the army. * * * * * * * * * * * He and his partizans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy ſlain. Sertorius offered ſacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the deſign, an invitation to ſupper, which with much entreaty he prevailed with him to accept.

The entertainments at which Sertorius was preſent, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to ſee or hear the leaſt indecency, and he had ever accuſtomed the gueſts to divert themſelves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midſt of the entertainment, the conſpirators began to ſeek occaſion to quarrel, giving into the moſt diſſolute diſcourſe, and pretending drunkenneſs as the cauſe of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obſcenities and deſign, or

* Dacier thinks we ſhould read *Manius*, by which he means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the firſt blow.

gueſſing at their deſigns by the manner of their drawling them out, he changed his poſture, and threw himſelf back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purpoſely let it fall out of his hands. The noiſe it made being the ſignal for them to fall on, Antony, who ſat next to Sertorius, gave him a ſtroke with his ſword. Sertorius turned, and ſtrove to get up; but Antony throwing himſelf upon his breaſt held both his hands; ſo that not being able in the leaſt to defend himſelf, the reſt of the conſpirators deſpatched him with many wounds.

Upon the firſt news of his death, moſt of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies ſurrendered themſelves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted ſomething with thoſe that remained; but though he had the uſe of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made ſo ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command, than how to obey. He gave Pompey battle, and was ſoon routed and taken priſoner. Nor in this laſt diſtreſs did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his poſſeſſion, and he offered Pompey the ſight of original letters from men of conſular dignity, and the greateſt intereſt in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into Italy in conſequence of the deſire of numbers, who wanted a change in the preſent face of affairs, and a new adminiſtration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a ſolid and improved underſtanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all thoſe letters and the other papers of Sertorius, and burnt them, without either reading them himſelf, or ſuffering any other perſon to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, leſt he ſhould mention the names of thoſe who wrote the letters, and thence new ſeditions and troubles ſhould ariſe. Perpenna's accomplices met the ſame fate; ſome of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others who fled into Africa, ſhot by the Moors. None eſcaped but Auſidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the ſeeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, wretchedly poor and univerſally deſpiſed.

EUMENES.

DURIS the hiſtorian writes, that Eumenes the Cardian was the ſon of a poor waggoner in the Cherſoneſus, and yet that he had a liberal education both as to learning and the exerciſes then in vogue.* He ſays, that while he was but a lad, Phillip happening to be in Cardia went to ſpend an hour of leiſure in ſeeing how the young men acquitted themſelves in the *pancration*,† and the boys in wreſtling. Among theſe Eumenes ſucceeded ſo well, and ſhowed ſo much activity and addreſs, that Philip was pleaſed with him, and took him into his train. But others aſſert with a greater appearance of probability, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation, of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honor with which he diſchaged his commiſſions; and though he had only the title of principal ſecretary, he was looked upon in as honorable a light as the king's moſt intimate friends and counſellors; inſomuch that he had the ſole direction of an Indian expedition, and upon the death of Hephæſtion, when Perdiccas had the poſt of that favorite, he ſucceeded Perdiccas.‡ Therefore, when Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armorbearer, took upon him to ſay, after the death of Alexander, "That he had borne the ſhield "and ſpear of that monarch, and that Eumenes had only "followed with his eſcritoir," the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that beſides other marks of honor, Alexander had thought Eumenes not unworthy

* There were public ſchools, where children of all conditions were taught without diſtinction.

† The *pancration* (as we have already obſerved) was a compoſition of wreſtling and boxing.

‡ In the printed text it is ὑπαρχίαν, *province*. But as we know of no government that Alexander gave Eumenes; ἱππαρχίαν, *a command in the cavalry*, which is the reading in ſome manuſcripts, appears preferable. And Cornelius Nepos confirms it in theſe words; *Præfuit etiam alteri equitum alæ.*

his alliance. For Barſine, the daughter of Artabazus, who was the firſt lady Alexander took to his bed in Aſia, and who brought him a ſon named Hercules, had two ſiſters; one of which, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy, and the other called alſo Barſine, he gave to Eumenes, at the time when he was ſelecting Perſian ladies as wives for his friends.*

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, he was often in diſgrace with Alexander, and once or twice in danger too, on account of Hephæſtion. In the firſt place, Hephæſtion gave a muſician named Evius, the quarters which the ſervants of Eumenes had taken up for him. Upon this, Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander, with Mentor,† and cried, "The beſt method they could take, was "to throw away their arms, and learn to play upon the "flute, or turn tragedians." Alexander at firſt entered into his quarrel, and ſharply rebuked Hephæſtion: But he ſoon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his diſpleaſure upon Eumenes; thinking he had behaved with more diſreſpect to him than reſentment againſt Hephæſtion.

Again; when Alexander wanted to ſend out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coaſts of the ocean, he found his treaſury low, and aſked his friends for a ſupply. Among the reſt he applied to Eumenes for three hundred talents, who offered him only a hundred, and aſſured him, at the ſame time, he ſhould find it difficult to collect that ſum by his ſtewards. Alexander refuſed the offer, but did not remonſtrate or complain. However, he ordered his ſervants privately to ſet fire to Eumenes's tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and be openly convicted of the falſity. It happened that the tent was entirely conſumed, and Alexander was ſorry on

* Alexander had married Statira, the eldeſt daughter of Darius, and given the youngeſt, named Trypetis, to Hephæſtion. This was a meaſure well calculated for eſtabliſhing him and his poſterity on the Perſian throne; but it was obnoxious to the Macedonians. Therefore to ſupport it on one hand, and to obviate inconveniences on the other, he ſelected eighty virgins out of the moſt honorable families in Perſia, and perſuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them.

† Mentor was brother to Memnon, whoſe widow Barſine was Alexander's miſtreſs. He was alſo brotherinlaw to Artabazus; and the ſecond Barſine, whom Eumenes married, ſeems to have been daughter to Memnon and Mentor's ſiſter.

account of the loſs of his papers. There was gold and ſilver found melted, to the amount of more than a thouſand talents, yet even then the king took none of it. And having written to all his grandees and lieutenants, to ſend him copies of the deſpatches that were loſt, upon their arrival, he put them again under the care of Eumenes.

Some time after, another diſpute happened between him and Hephæſtion, on account of ſome preſent from the king to one of them. Much ſevere and abuſive language paſſed between them, yet Alexander, for the preſent, did not look upon Eumenes with the leſs regard. But, Hephæſtion dying ſoon after, the king, in his unſpeakable affliction for that loſs, expreſſed his reſentment againſt all who he thought envied that favorite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected of ſuch ſentiments, and he often mentioned the differences, and the ſevere language thoſe difference had produced. Eumenes, however, being an artful man, and happy at expedients, made the very perſon through whom he had loſt the king's favor, the means of regaining it. He ſeconded the zeal and application of Alexander, to celebrate the memory of Hephæſtion. He ſuggeſted ſuch inſtances of veneration as he thought might do moſt honor to the deceaſed, and contributed largely and freely out of his own purſe, towards the expenſes of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a great quarrel broke out between the *phalanx* and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes in his heart, ſided with the *phalanx*, but in appearance ſtood neuter, as a perſon perfectly indifferent; ſaying, it did not become him, who was a ſtranger, to interfere in the diſputes of the Macedonians. And when the other great officers retired from Babylon, he ſtayed there, endeavoring to appeaſe that body of infantry, and to diſpoſe them to a reconciliation.

After theſe troubles were paſt, and the generals met to conſult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries aſſigned Eumenes, were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coaſt of the Sea of Pontus, as far as Trapezus. Theſe countries were not then ſubject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathres was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great

army, and put Eumenes in poſſeſſion. Antigonus, now elated with power, and deſpiſing all the world, gave no attention to the letters of Perdiccas. But Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, and promiſed to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecatæus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and deſired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were beſieged in Lamia.* Leonatus being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecatæus. They had long had ſuſpicions of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics; in conſequence of which Eumenes had only accuſed Hecatæus of ſetting himſelf up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to reſtore that people to their liberty. He now deſired to be excuſed taking a ſhare in the Grecian expedition, alleging he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated him, to gratify himſelf as well as Hecatæus, would make ſome attempt upon his life. Upon which, Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the aſſiſting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he deſigned, as ſoon as he landed in Greece, to aſſert his claim to Macedonia. At the ſame time he ſhowed him letters from Cleopatra,† in which ſhe invited him to Pella, and promiſed to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he deſpaired of any ſervice from Leonitus, who was extremely obſtinate in his temper, and followed every impulſe of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe, two hundred of his domeſtics, well armed, and all his treaſure, amounting to five thouſand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and, as he acquainted that general with the ſecret deſigns of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favor, and admitted to a ſhare in his councils. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in perſon conducted him into Cappadocia, with a great army; took Ariarathes priſoner, ſubdued all the country, and eſtabliſhed Eumenes in that government.

* A city of Theſſaly.
† The ſiſter of Alexander.

in conſequence of which Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garriſons, with proper officers at their head, and appointed judges and ſuperintendants of the revenue; Perdiccas leaving the entire diſpoſition of thoſe things to him. After this, he departed with Perdiccas; chooſing to give him that teſtimony of reſpect, and not thinking it conſiſtent with his intereſt to be abſent from his court. But Perdiccas, ſatisfied that he could himſelf execute the deſigns he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces he had left behind, required an able and faithful guardian, ſent back Eumenes when he had reached Cilicia. The pretence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government; but the real intention, that he ſhould ſecure the adjoining province of Armenia, which was diſturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of ſanguine purſuits, and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however endeavored to keep him to his duty, by ſoothing applications. And as he ſaw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely inſolent and audacious, he applied himſelf to raiſing a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoiſe againſt them. For this purpoſe he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to thoſe of his province who were good horſemen. He alſo bought a great number of horſes, and diſtributed them among ſuch of his courtiers as he placed the greateſt confidence in; exciting them by honors and rewards, and training them to ſtrength and ſkill, by a variety of exerciſes. The Macedonians, upon this, were differently affected, ſome with aſtoniſhment, and others with joy, to ſee a body of cavalry collected, to the number of ſix thouſand three hundred, and trained in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time.

About that time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, paſſed into Aſia, to overthrow the power of Perdiccas; and news was brought that their firſt intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himſelf was engaged in war with Ptolemy; he therefore appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia; and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had inveſted with diſcretionary powers. Alcetas plainly refuſed to ſubmit to that injunction; alleging that the Macedo-

nians would be aſhamed to fight Antipater; and as for Craterus, their affection for him was ſuch that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was viſible that Neoptolemus was forming ſome treacherous ſcheme againſt Eumenes; for when called upon, he refuſed to join him, and, inſtead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the firſt occaſion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his foreſight and timely preparations. For, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage. And while the phalanx were diſperſed upon the purſuit, he fell upon them in ſuch good order with his horſe, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to ſerve him. Neoptolemus collected ſome of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already ſent ambaſſadors to Eumenes, to deſire him to adopt their intereſts, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops; in which caſe he would find Antipater a friend inſtead of an enemy, and continue in friendſhip with Craterus, inſtead of turning his arms againſt him.

Eumenes made anſwer to theſe propoſals, "That "having long been on a footing of enmity with Anti- "pater, he did not chooſe to be his friend, at a time "when he ſaw him treating his friends as ſo many ene- "mies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile him "to Perdiccas, and to compromiſe matters between them "upon juſt and reaſonable terms. But if he ſhould be- "gin hoſtilities, he would ſupport his injured friend while "he had an hour to live, and rather ſacrifice life itſelf "than his honor."

When this anſwer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took ſome time to deliberate upon the meaſures they ſhould purſue. Meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving, gave them an account of the battle he had loſt, and requeſted aſſiſtance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He ſaid, "The Macedonians had ſo extraor- "dinary an attachment to him, that if they ſaw but his "hat, or heard one accent of his tongue, they would im- "mediately run to him with their ſwords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among

them, and, after the death of Alexander, moſt of them wiſhed to be under his command. They remembered the riſks he had run of embroiling himſelf with Alexander for their ſakes; how he had combated the inclination for Perſian faſhions which inſenſibly grew upon him, and ſupported the cuſtoms of his country againſt the inſults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now ſent Antipater into Cilicia, and taking a conſiderable part of the forces himſelf, marched along with Neoptolemus againſt Eumenes. If Eumenes foreſaw his coming and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance neceſſary in a general; we ſee nothing in that of ſuperior genius. But when, beſides his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to diſcover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adverſary, and made them ſerve againſt Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we ſee characteriſtical proofs of generalſhip. For he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, aſſiſted by Pigris, was advancing again with ſome Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horſe. The night he deſigned to decamp, he fell into a ſound ſleep, and had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he ſaw two Alexanders prepared to try their ſtrength againſt each other, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to ſupport the one and Ceres the other. A ſharp conflict enſued, in which the Alexander aſſiſted by Minerva, was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. He immediately concluded that the dream was in his favor, becauſe he had to fight for a country which was moſt of it in tillage, and which had then ſo excellent a crop, well advanced towards the ſickle, that the whole face of it had the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was *Minerva and Alexander*; and in oppoſition to it he gave *Ceres and Alexander*. At the ſame time, he ordered his men to crown themſelves, and to cover their arms with ears of corn. He was ſeveral times upon the point of declaring to his principal officers and captains what adverſary they had to contend with; thinking a hazardous undertaking to keep to himſelf a ſecret ſo important, and perhaps neceſſary for them to know.

Yet he abode by his firſt reſolution, and truſted his own heart only with the danger that might enſue.

When he came to give battle, he would not ſet any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horſe, commanded by Pharnabazus the ſon of Artabazus, and Phœnix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the firſt fight of the enemy, and come to cloſe fighting, without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to ſpeak or ſend any herald, they were not to regard it. For he had ſtrong apprehenſions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus, if they happened to know him. Eumenes himſelf, with a troop of three hundred ſelect horſe, went and poſted himſelf in the right wing, where he ſhould have to act againſt Neoptolemus. When they had paſſed a little hill that ſeparated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with ſuch impetuoſity, that Craterus was extremely ſurpriſed, and expreſſed his reſentment in ſtrong terms againſt Neoptolemus, who, he thought, had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians would change ſides. However, he exorted his officers to behave like brave men, and ſtood forward to the encounter. In the firſt ſhock, which was very violent, the ſpears were ſoon broke, and they were then to decide the diſpute with the ſword.

The behavior of Craterus did no diſhonor to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who aſſailed him in front. But at laſt he received a ſide blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many paſſed over him without knowing him; but Georgias, one of Eumene's officers, took notice of him; and being well acquainted with his perſon, leaped from his horſe and guarded the body; it was then, however, too late; he was at the laſt extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the mean time, Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes.—The moſt violent hatred had long ſubſiſted between them, and this day added ſtings to it. They knew not one another in the two firſt encounters, but in the third they did; and then they ruſhed forward impetuouſly with ſwords drawn and loud ſhouts. The ſhock their horſes met with was ſo violent, that it reſembled that of two galleys. The

fierce antagoniſts quitted the bridles, and laid hold on each other; each endeavoring to tear off the helmet or the breaſtplate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horſes went from under them; and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wreſtled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to riſe firſt, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus being wounded in one knee, ſupported himſelf upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adverſary a mortal blow. At laſt receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and ſtretched himſelf upon the ground. Eumenes, with all the eagerneſs of inveterate hatred, haſtening to ſtrip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not obſerve that his ſword was ſtill in his hand; ſo that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuiraſs, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the ſtroke was but feeble, the apprehenſions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had deſpoiled his adverſary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horſe and made up to his left wing, which he ſuppoſed might ſtill be engaged with the enemy. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he haſtened to him; and finding his breath and his ſenſes not quite gone, he alighted from his horſe, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while he lamented his own ill fortune, and the cruel neceſſity he was under of coming to extremities with his moſt intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former. And it raiſed him to a high rank of honor, becauſe it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage, but at the ſame time it expoſed him to the envy and hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It ſeemed hard to them, that a ſtranger, a foreign adventurer, ſhould have deſtroyed one of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious of the Macedonians with the arms of thoſe very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought ſooner to Perdiccas, none but he would have ſwayed the Macedonian ſceptre. But he was ſlain in a mutiny in

Egypt, two days before the news arrived. The Macedonians were so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event, that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry that decree into execution. Mean time Eumenes went to the king's horses which were pasturing upon Mount Ida, and took such as he had occasion for, but gave the keepers a discharge for them. When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed, and said, "He could not enough admire the caution of Eumenes, "who must certainly expect to see the account of the "king's goods and chattels stated either on one side or "other."

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because he was strong in cavalry, and because he was ambitious to show Cleopatra what a respectable force he had. However, at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause of complaint, he marched to the Upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celænæ. There Alcetas, Polemon and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he said, "This makes good the observation, "Every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one "thinks of the danger that may accrue to the public "weal."

He had promised to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he sold them all the farms and castles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the castle, he divided the spoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This restored him the affections of the soldiers; insomuch, that when papers were found in his camp, dispersed by the enemy, in which their generals promised a hundred talents and great honors to the man who should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed, and gave order that from that time he should have a body guard of a thousand officerlike men* always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in

* Των ηγεμονικων.

waiting day and night. There was not a man who refuſed that charge; and they were glad to receive from Eumenes the marks of honor, which thoſe who were called the king's friends, uſed to receive from the hands of royalty. For he too was empowered to diſtribute purple hats and rich robes, which were conſidered as the principal gifts the kings of Macedon had to beſtow.

Proſperity gives ſome appearance of higher ſentiments even to perſons of mean ſpirit, and we ſee ſomething of grandeur and importance about them in the elevation where Fortune has placed them. But he who is inſpired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will ſhow it moſt by the dignity of his behavior under loſſes, and in the moſt adverſe fortune. So did Eumenes. When he had loſt a battle to Antigonus in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himſelf, he did not ſuffer the traitor to eſcape to the enemy, but took him and hanged him upon the ſpot. In his flight he took a different way from the purſuers, and privately turned round in ſuch a manner, as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead, whom he collected, and burnt with the doorpoſts of the neighboring villages. The bodies of the officers and common ſoldiers were burnt upon ſeparate piles; and when he had raiſed great monuments of earth over them, he decamped. So that Antigonus coming that way afterwards, was aſtoniſhed at his firmneſs and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could eaſily have taken it, together with many perſons of free condition, a great number of ſlaves, and all the wealth which had been amaſſed in ſo many wars, and the plunder of ſo many countries. But he was afraid that his men, when poſſeſſed of ſuch riches and ſpoils, would think themſelves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardſhip of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal reſource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was ſenſible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the ſpoil, when it was ſo much within reach. He therefore ordered them to refreſh themſelves, and feed their horſes, before they attacked the enemy. In the mean time he privately ſent a meſſen-

ger to Menander, who escorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in consideration of the friendship "which had subsisted between them, advised him to pro- "vide for his safety, and to retire as fast as possible "from the plain, where he might easily be surrounded, "to the foot of the neighboring mountain, where the "cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon his "rear."

Menander soon perceived his danger, and retired. After which, Eumenes sent out his scouts in the presence of all the soldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horses, in order for the attack. The scouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a situation where he could not be taken. Hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told, that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness, for acting so generous a part, when it was in his power to have enslaved their children and dishonored their wives. The answer Antigonus gave them was this: "Think not, my good friends, it was "for your sake he let them go: It was for his own. He "did not choose to have so many shackles upon him, "when he designed to fly."

After this, Eumenes, being forced to wander and fly from place to place, spoke to many of his soldiers to leave him; either out of care for their safety, or because he did not choose to have a body of men after him, who were too few to stand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy. And when he retired to the castle of Nora,* on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, there again he gave all such of his friends free leave to depart, as did not like the inconveniences of the place, and the meanness of diet,† and dismissed them with great marks of kindness.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and, before he formed that siege, invited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, "Antigonus had many friends and generals "to take his place, in case of accidents to himself; but

* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.
† A hundred left him upon this offer.

"the troops he had the care of, had none to command "or to protect them after him," he therefore inſiſted that Antigonus ſhould ſend hoſtages, if he wanted to treat with him in perſon. And when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him firſt, as the greater man, he ſaid, "While I am maſter of my ſword, I ſhall never think any man greater than myſelf." At laſt Antigonus ſent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hoſtage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which laſted a conſiderable time, Eumenes made no mention of ſecurity for his own life, or of an amneſty for what was paſſed. Inſtead of that, he inſiſted on having the government of his provinces confirmed to him, and conſiderable rewards for his ſervices beſides; inſomuch that all who attended on the occaſion, admired his firmneſs, and were aſtoniſhed at his greatneſs of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to ſee Eumenes; for, after the death of Craterus, no man was ſo much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing they ſhould offer him ſome violence, called to them to keep at a diſtance; and when they ſtill kept crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with ſtones. At laſt he took him in his arms, and keeping off the multitude with his guards, with ſome difficulty got him ſafe again into the caſtle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a ſufficient number of troops to carry on the ſiege, he retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and ſalt, but in want of every thing elſe requiſite for the table. Yet with this mean proviſion he furniſhed out a cheerful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns; for he took care to ſeaſon his proviſions with agreeable diſcourſe and the utmoſt cordiality. His appearance was, indeed, very engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war worn turn, but was ſmooth and elegant; and the proportion of his limbs was ſo excellent, that they might ſeem to have come from the chiſſel of the ſtatuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a ſoft and perſuaſive way of ſpeaking, as we may conclude from his epiſtles.

He obſerved, that the greateſt inconvenience to the garriſon was the narrowneſs of the ſpace in which they were confined, encloſed as it was with ſmall houſes, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit; ſo that they were forced to take their food without exerciſe, and their horſes to do the ſame. To remove the languor which is the conſequence of that want, as well as to prepare them for flight, if occaſion ſhould offer, he aſſigned a room fourteen cubits long, the largeſt in all the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horſes, he tied them to the roof of the ſtable with ſtrong halters. Then he raiſed their heads and foreparts by a pulley, till they could ſcarce touch the ground with their forefeet, but, at the ſame time they ſtood firm upon their hindfeet. In this poſture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice; and the horſes, thus irritated bounded furiouſly on their hindfeet, or ſtrained to ſet their forefeet on the ground; by which efforts their whole body was exerciſed, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exerciſe, which was no bad one either for ſpeed or ſtrength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might ſooner deſpatch, and better digeſt it.

As the ſiege was drawn out to a conſiderable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animoſities between Caſſander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior proſpects, and graſped the whole empire in his ſchemes; in conſequence of which, he wanted to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to cooperate in the execution of his plan. For this purpoſe he ſent to him Hieronymus,* with propoſals of peace, on condition he took the oath that was offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place to judge which form was the moſt reaſonable. Indeed, Antigonus, to ſave appearances, had ſlightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the reſt ran in his own

* Hieronymus was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the hiſtory of thoſe princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their ſucceſſors.

name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias and the princes of the blood firſt; and he propoſed to engage himſelf by oath of fealty not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more conſiſtent with juſtice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raiſed the ſiege. They likewiſe ſent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Mean time Eumenes reſtored to the Cappadocians all the hoſtages he had at Nora, and in return they furniſhed him with horſes, beaſts of burden, and tents. He alſo collected great part of his ſoldiers who had diſperſed themſelves after his defeat, and were ſtraggling about the country. By this means he aſſembled near a thouſand horſe,* with which he marched off as faſt as poſſible; rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be beſieged again, and ſhut up with a circular wall, but, in his letters, expreſſed great reſentment againſt the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehenſions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein ſhe invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's ſon, whoſe life ſhe conceived to be in danger. At the ſame time, Polyperchon and king Philip ſent him orders to carry on the war againſt Antigonus with the forces in Cappadocia. They empowered him alſo to take five hundred talents out of the royal treaſure at Quinda,† for the reeſtabliſhment of his own affairs, and as much more as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the purpoſes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus too, who commanded the *Argyraſpides*, had directions to ſupport him.

Theſe officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind of reception, but it was not difficult to diſcover the envy and jealouſy they had in their hearts, and how much they diſdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavored to remove, by not taking the money, which he told them he did not want. To remove their obſtinacy and ambi-

* Diodorus Siculus, ſays two thouſand.
† In Caria.

tion for the firſt place, was not ſo eaſy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were reſolved not to obey. In this caſe he called in the aſſiſtance of ſuperſtition. He ſaid, Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and ſhowed him a pavillion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, after which that prince declared, "If they would hold their councils, and "deſpatch buſineſs there, he would be with them, and "proſper every meaſure and action which commenced "under his auſpices."*

He eaſily perſuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe he had this viſion. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he chooſe to diſhonor his commiſſion by going to them. They prepared, therefore, a royal pavillion, and a throne in it, which they called the throne of Alexander; and thither they repaired to conſult upon the moſt important affairs.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way, were joined by Peuceſtas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly ſtrengthened, both in point of numbers, and in the moſt magnificent proviſion of all the requiſites of war. But power and affluence had rendered theſe governors ſo untractable in ſociety, and ſo diſſolute in their way of living, ſince the death of Alexander, and they came together with a ſpirit of deſpotiſm, ſo nurſed by barbaric pride, that they ſoon became obnoxious to each other, and no ſort of harmony could ſubſiſt between them. Beſides they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and ſupplied them with money in ſuch a manner, for their entertainments and ſacrifices, that, in a little time, their camp looked like a place of public reception for every ſcene of intemperance; and thoſe veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

* In conſequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes propoſed to take a ſum out of the treaſury, ſufficient for making a throne of gold; to place upon that throne the diadem, the ſceptre and crown, and all the other enſigns of royalty belonging to that prince; that every morning a ſacrifice ſhould be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders ſhould be iſſued in his name. A ſtroke of policy ſuitable to the genius of Eumenes.

Eumenes ſoon perceived that the new arrived grandees deſpiſed each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large ſums of thoſe that hated him moſt,* in order that they might place ſome confidence in him, or at leaſt might give up their deſigns upon his life out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himſelf, in the opulence of others; and though men in general ſeek to ſave their lives by giving, he provided for his ſafety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and, like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of thoſe that affected the command. But, when Antigonus came and encamped over againſt them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the ſoldiers, but the very grandees, who had taken ſo much ſtate upon them in time of peace and pleaſure, freely gave place to him, and took the poſt he aſſigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to paſs the river Paſitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it, got any intelligence of his motions; Eumenes alone was at hand to oppoſe him; and he did it ſo effectually, that he filled the channel with dead bodies and made four thouſand priſoners.

The behavior of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to be ſick, ſtill more particularly ſhowed, that they thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the ſolemnities of peace, but that he was the only perſon among them fit to lead an army. For, Peuceſtas having feaſted them in a ſumptuous manner in Perſia, and given each man a ſheep for ſacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching againſt the enemy, Eumenes was ſo dangerouſly ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, at ſome diſtance from the ranks, leſt his reſt, which was very precarious, ſhould be diſturbed with the noiſe. They had not gone far, before the enemy ſuddenly made their appearance, for they had paſſed the intermediate hills, and were now deſcending into the plain. The luſtre of their golden armor glittering in the ſun, as they marched down the hill, the elephants with their towers on their backs, and the purple veſts which the cavalry

* Four hundred thouſand crowns.

uſed to wear when they were advancing to the combat, ſtruck the troops that were to oppoſe them with ſuch ſurpriſe, that the front halted, and called out for Eumenes; declaring that they would not move a ſtep farther, if he had not the direction of them. At the ſame time they grounded their arms, exhorted each other to ſtop, and inſiſted that their officers ſhould not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no ſooner heard this than he advanced with the utmoſt expedition, haſtening the ſlaves that carried the litter. He likewiſe opened the curtains, and ſtretched out his hand in token of his joy. On the firſt ſight of the general of their heart, the troops ſaluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and, with loud ſhouts, challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themſelves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus having learned from ſome priſoners, that Eumenes was ſo extremely ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, concluded he ſhould find no great difficulty in beating the other generals; and therefore, haſtened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and ſaw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he ſtood ſtill ſome time, in ſilent admiration. At laſt, ſpying the litter carried about, from one wing to the other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and ſaid to his friends, "Yon litter is the thing that pitches the battle againſt us." After this he immediately retreated to his intrenchments.*

* There are ſome particulars in Diodorus, which deſerve to be inſerted here. After the two armies were ſeparated, without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs diſtance from each other; and Antigonus ſoon finding the country where he lay ſo much exhauſted, that it would be very difficult for him to ſubſiſt, ſent deputies to the confederate army, to ſolicit them, eſpecially the governors of provinces, and the old Macedonian corps, to deſert Eumenes, and to join him; which, at this time, they rejected with the higheſt indignation. After the deputies were diſmiſſed, Eumenes came into the aſſembly, and delivered himſelf in the following fable: "A lion once falling in love with a young damſel, demanded her "in marriage of her father. The father made anſwer, That he look-"ed on ſuch an alliance as a great honor to his family, but ſtood "in fear of his claws and teeth, leſt, upon any trifling diſpute that "might happen between them after marriage, he might exerciſe "them a little too haſtily upon his daughter. To remove this "objection, the amorous lion cauſed both his nails and teeth to be "drawn immediately; whereupon the father took a cudgel, and

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themſelves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a diſorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and ſpread themſelves over almoſt all the provinces of Gabene, for winter quarters; inſomuch, that the firſt were at the diſtance of a thouſand furlongs from the laſt. Antigonus being informed of this circumſtance, moved back againſt them, without loſing a moment's time. He took a rugged road, that afforded no water, becauſe it was the ſhorteſt; hoping, if he fell upon them while thus diſperſed, that it would be impoſſible for their officers to aſſemble them.

However, as ſoon as he had entered that deſolate country, his troops were attacked with ſuch violent winds, and ſevere froſts, that it was difficult for them to proceed; and they found it neceſſary to light many fires. For this reaſon their march could not be concealed. The barbarians, who inhabited the mountains that overlook the deſert, wondering what ſuch a number of fires could mean, ſent ſome perſons upon dromedaries to Peuceſtas, with an account of them.

Peuceſtas, diſtracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him ſuch troops as he could collect on the way. But Eumenes ſoon diſpelled

" ſoon got rid of his enemy." " This," continued he, " is the very " thing aimed at by Antigonus, who is liberal in promiſes, till he " has made himſelf maſter of your forces, and then beware of his " teeth and paws." A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, preſently gueſſed that his deſign was to ſeek quarters of refreſhment for his army in the rich diſtrict of Gabene. To prevent this, and, at the ſame time to gain a paſſage into that country, he inſtructed ſome ſoldiers to pretend they were deſerters, and ſent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which, at length, Antigonus ſuſpected; and, having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he diſcerned Eumenes, with his army below; and Eumenes, upon ſight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand faced about, and diſpoſed his troops in order to battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn; and, as ſoon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a ſharp action followed, in which the victory ſeemed won and loſt ſeveral times. At laſt, however, Antigonus had viſibly the worſt, being forced to withdraw, by long marches, into Media. *Died. Sic.* lib. xviii.

their fears and uneasiness, by promising so to impede the enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from their quarters, and assemble them with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his colleagues to seek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, so as to resemble a camp.

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress. For he thought the enemy were apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet him. Not choosing, therefore, with forces so harrassed and fatigned with their march, to be obliged to fight troops that were perfectly fresh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages; giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him in his march, which is usual when an enemy is near, and was informed, by the neighboring inhabitants, that they had seen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalship; and this incensed him so much, that he advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

Mean time the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this, Antigenes and Teutamus, who were at the head of the *Argyraspides*, were so exasperated with envy, that they formed a plot against his life; and having drawn into it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make use of him in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their resolutions; not out of any kindness or benevolent regard, but because they were afraid of losing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honor with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends, "That he lived among a herd of savage

beaſts," and immediately made his will. After which, he deſtroyed all his papers, leſt, after his death, charges and impeachments ſhould ariſe againſt the perſons who wrote them in conſequence of the ſecrets diſcovered there. He then conſidered, whether he ſhould put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia; but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends ſtayed with him. After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almoſt as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the forces, and endeavored to animate the Greeks and the barbarians. On the other hand, the *phalanx* and the *Argyraſpides* bade him be of good courage, aſſuring him, that the enemy would not ſtand the encounter. For they were veterans who had ſerved under Philip and Alexander, and, like ſo many champions of the ing ring had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were ſeventy years of age, and none leſs than ſixty. So that when they charged the troops of Antigonus, they cried out, "Villains, you fight againſt your fathers!" Then they fell furiouſly upon his infantry, and ſoon routed them. Indeed, none of the battalions could ſtand the ſhock, and the moſt of them were cut in pieces upon the ſpot. But though Antigonus had ſuch bad ſucceſs in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and daſtardly behavior of Peuceſtas, and took all the baggage. Antigonus was a man who had an excellent preſence of mind on the moſt trying occaſions, and here the place and the occaſion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the ſoil neither deep nor hard, but, like the ſeaſhore, covered with a fine dry ſand, which the trampling of ſo many men and horſes, during the action, reduced to a ſmall white duſt, that like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the proſpect; ſo that it was eaſy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Teutamus ſent ſome of his corps to Antigonus, to deſire him to reſtore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the *Argyraſpides* their baggage, but treat them in all reſpects, with the greateſt kindneſs, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The *Argyraſpides* came into that abominable meaſure, and agreed to deliver up that brave man alive to his enemies. In purſuance of this ſcheme, they ap-

proached him unſuſpected, and planted themſelves about him. Some lamented the loſs of their baggage; ſome deſired him to aſſume the ſpirit of victory, which he had gained; others accuſed the reſt of their commanders. Thus watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his ſword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was ſent by Antigonus to receive him. But, as they led him through the midſt of the Macedonians, he deſired firſt to ſpeak to them; not for any requeſt he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to *them*. Silence being made, he aſcended an eminence, and ſtretching out his hands, bound as they were, he ſaid: "What trophy, ye vileſt of all the Macedonians! What "trophy could Antigonus have wiſhed to raiſe, like this "which you are raiſing, by delivering up your general "bound? Was it not baſe enough to acknowledge your- "ſelves beaten, merely for the ſake of your baggage, as "if victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and "not upon the points of your ſwords; but you muſt "alſo ſend your general as a ranſom for that baggage? "For my part, though thus led, I am not conquered; "I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by my fel- "low ſoldiers. But I conjure you by the god of armies,* "and the awful deities who preſide over oaths, to kill "me here with your own hands. If my life be taken "by another, the deed will ſtill be yours. Nor will An- "tigonus complain, if you take the work out of his hands; "for he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. "If you chooſe not to be the immediate inſtruments, "looſe but one of my hands, and that ſhall do the buſi- "neſs. If you will not truſt me with a ſword, throw me "bound as I am to wild beaſts. If you comply with "this laſt requeſt, I acquit you of all guilt with reſpect "to me, and declare you have behaved to your general "like the beſt and honeſteſt of men."

The reſt of the troops received this ſpeech with ſighs and tears, and every expreſſion of ſorrow; but the *Argyraſpides* cried out, "Lead him on and attend not to "his trifling. For it is no ſuch great matter, if an exe- "crable Cherſoneſian, who has harraſſed the Macedo-

* Jupiter.

"nians with infinite wars, have cauſe to lament his fate; "as it would be, if the beſt of Alexander's and Philip's "ſoldiers ſhould be deprived of the fruit of their labors, "and have their bread to beg in their old age. And "have not our wives already paſſed three nights with our "enemies?" So ſaying they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing ſome bad conſequence from the crowd (for there was not a man left in his camp) ſent out ten of his beſt elephants, and a corps of ſpearmen, who were Medes and Parthians, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his preſence, becauſe of the former friendly connexions there had been between them. And when thoſe who took the charge of him, aſked, in what manner he would have him kept? He ſaid, "So as you would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheleſs, he ſoon felt ſome impreſſions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a ſervant who had been accuſtomed to wait upon him. He likewiſe permitted ſuch of his friends as deſired it, to paſs whole days with him, and to bring him neceſſary refreſhments. Thus he ſpent ſome conſiderable time in deliberating how to diſpoſe of him, and ſometimes liſtened to the applications and promiſes of Nearchus the Cretan, and his own ſon Demetrius, who made it a point to ſave him. But all the other officers inſiſted that he ſhould be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes aſked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now he had got his "enemy into his power, did not either immediately deſ-"patch him, or generouſly releaſe him?" Onomarchus anſwered, in a contemptuous manner, "That in the bat-"tle, and not now, he ſhould have been ſo ready to "meet death." To which Eumenes replied, "By heav-"en I was ſo! Aſk thoſe who ventured to engage me, "if I was not. I do not know that I met with a better "man than myſelf."—"Well," ſaid Onomarchus, "now "you have found a better man than yourſelf, why do not "you patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had reſolved upon his death, he gave orders that he ſhould have no kind of food. By this means in two or three days time, he began to draw near his end: And then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon ſome

ſudden emergency, ſent in an executioner to deſpatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honorably, and to collect the aſhes into a ſilver urn, in order to their being ſent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes: And divine juſtice did not go far to ſeek inſtruments of vengeance againſt the officers* and ſoldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himſelf deteſting the *Argyraſpides* as impious and ſavage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius, governor of Arachoſia,† under whoſe direction he put them, to take every method to deſtroy them; ſo that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or ſet his eyes upon the Grecian ſea.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES

COMPARED.

THESE are the moſt remarkable particulars which hiſtory has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the compariſon: We obſerve, firſt, that though they were both ſtrangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and reſpectable armies. Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his ſuperior merit; whereas many diſputed the poſt of honor with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head; but thoſe who acted under Eumenes, never had recourſe to him, till experience had ſhowed them their own incapacity, and the neceſſity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Luſitanians, who for many years had been ſubject to

* Antigenus, commander in chief of the *Silver Shields*, was, by order of Antigonus, put in a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

† A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.